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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SINO-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS REVIEWED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS] in Chinese No 2,
Oct 81 p 1-14

[Article from the Editorial Department: "The Truth About Sino-Vietnamese Relations"]

[Text] For quite some time the Vietnam Le Duan clique has fanned anti-Chinese hatred in order to deceive world opinion, has covered up its own regional hegemonist expansionist moves, and has noisily howled about the "China threat." They have propagandized that historically "Vietnam was frequently the victim of China's aggression," and that today it still is under "threat" from China. The memory is still fresh of Khrushchev's past peddling of the "Yellow Peril" views of the former German Kaiser Wilhelm II. Now, the Le Duan clique has inherited their mantles, dishing out once more the notion of a "China threat" that is different in approach but the same in intent, going farther and farther along the anti-China road.

Just what have Sino-Vietnamese relations historically been? How have current differences between Vietnam and China come about? Is Vietnam threatened by China? Let us use facts to reply.

1. The Historical Mainstream of Sino-Vietnamese Relations

China and Vietnam are contiguous neighbors. Between the peoples of China and Vietnam a long tradition of friendship has existed. Comrade Ho Chi Minh noted that "Our Vietnamese and Chinese people have for thousands of years been of the same lineage and have had a common culture, and historically have been commonly termed fraternal countries." "The Vietnamese and the Chinese belong to the same family."⁽¹⁾ In recent times, the relationship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people has been closer. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "No matter whether in the fight against imperialist aggression or in the building of socialist endeavors, the people of our two countries have all along shared weal and woe, have supported each other, and have worked closely together."⁽²⁾ Comrade Ho Chi Minh eulogized these relations, writing "Vietnamese and Chinese affection runs deep; comrades as well as brothers, they are." This famous couplet has long been widely known and has become fixed in people's hearts.

However, in the long historical course of the development of Sino-Vietnamese relations, there have also been some twists and turns. One such was the aggression committed against Vietnam by China's feudal dynasties. The Chinese people have never tried to conceal the action of China's feudal rulers in launching unjust wars of aggression against neighboring countries, but rather have always maintained a condemnatory attitude toward them.

At the end of June 1955 when Comrade Ho Chi Minh led a Vietnamese party and government delegation to China on a first formal visit, during the first conversation between the two parties, Comrade Mao Zedong mentioned China's aggression against Vietnam in ancient times. On his first visit to Vietnam in November 1956, Comrade Zhou Enlai personally presented flowers at the "Nhi Chinh Temple" in an expression of respect for Madame Nhi Chinh's rebellion more than 1,900 years ago against the oppression of the people by China's feudal dynasty. This clearly demonstrated the proletarian internationalist standpoint of the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese government, and reflected the firm stand of the Chinese people against all who have suffered aggression and oppression. Comrade Ho Chi Minh fully understood this attitude on the part of the Chinese, and he emphasized in a give and take manner the friendship of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples from antiquity until the present. He replied to Comrade Mao Zedong saying, "In ancient times, the Vietnamese and Chinese people were friends in oppression; now they are comrades in arms in revolution."⁽³⁾ He said to Comrade Zhou Enlai, "For more than 30 years, because of the existence of the Chinese Communist Party, the good neighborly relations that have existed since ancient times between the peoples of Vietnam and China have become even more intimate."⁽⁴⁾ By acting in this spirit of comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Ho Chi Minh, the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations could have become an element in the promotion of friendship between the two peoples, and it need not have been used as a tool to destroy the friendship between the two peoples, and it need not have been used as a tool to destroy the friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

However, after the mid-1960's, the Vietnam Le Duan clique turned its back on the stand that Comrade Ho Chi Minh had maintained, and out of ulterior motives loudly propagandized the aggression against Vietnam of ancient Chinese feudal dynasties, using the past to disparage the present, and concocting a "historical basis" for the slander of so-called "China threat."

If one really wanted to talk of countercurrents in past Sino-Vietnamese relations, we would have to raise a matter that the Vietnamese authorities tried to hide, namely the aggression against China carried out by Vietnamese feudal dynasties.

Historical facts show that when the power of the feudal rulers of Vietnam was on the rise, and particularly when China's feudal dynasties were relatively weak for various internal and external reasons, the feudal rulers of Vietnam would use the fact of the Sino-Vietnam border being a long way away from the center of Chinese rule to harass the Chinese border, nibble away at China's territory, and give support to rebel activities to break up China's power. Whenever the feudal rulers of Vietnam carried out such aggressive action against China, Chinese people's lives and property were lost, and sometimes very great losses occurred. Such accounts are numerous in Chinese history books. During the Song Dynasty in China, as one example, in the 246 year period from A.D. 995 (during the first year of the reign of the Zhidao emperor in the Taizong era of the Song) until A.D. 1241 (the first year of the reign of Chunyou in the Lizong era of Song), the feudal dynasties of Vietnam committed more than 12 acts of aggression against China, the largest of them having been in 1075 (the eighth year of the reign of the Xining emperor in the Shenzong era of Song) when Li Thuong Se invaded Quizhou (modern day Ningshan in Guangxi Province), Lianzhou (modern day Hepu, Guangxi) and Yongzhou (modern day Nanning, Guangxi), wreaking an extremely serious calamity on the Chinese people. After the fall of Yongzhou, the Vietnamese forces butchered more than 58,000 residents in this city alone, and these plus the number slaughtered in Quinzhou and Lianzhou brought the number of

Chinese killed to more than 100,000.

The Le Duan clique, however, flatly denies aggression against China by Vietnamese feudal dynasties saying that "during the entire period of the feudal system in both countries, it was only the Chinese emperors who committed aggression against Vietnam, while the feudal emperors of Vietnam did not commit aggression against China."⁽⁵⁾ They represent the bloody aggression of Li Thuong Se as counter-aggression and tout Li Thuong Se as a marvelous "national hero," really fabricating history to an astounding degree.

The eighth year of the reign of the Xining emperor in the Shenzong era of the Song dynasty in the year 1075 corresponded to the fourth year of the reign of the Thai Ning emperor of the Nhan Tong era of the Li dynasty). During the time Prime Minister Wang Anshi was at the helm of state in the Song dynasty, and in the Li dynasty in Vietnam, Li Thuong Se, the royal military commander-in-chief wielded power. According to the "History of Vietnam" (Vol I) published in 1971, the reason for Li Thuong Se's attack on the Song was that a Song dynasty plot to invade Vietnam "had been exposed entirely." "Li Thuong Se felt he should not passively wait for the invasion of the Song armies, and thus took the initiative in an attack." "For self defense, he made a pre-emptive strike."⁽⁶⁾

How was the Song army's invasion plot "exposed entirely?" The "History of Vietnam" quotes only a single sentence by Wang Anshi: "One sweep through the Vietnam region and our imperial authority will be established there." However, the "Historical Synopsis Account"⁽⁷⁾ in which this sentence appears, clearly shows that these words by Wang Anshi were spoken after Vietnamese armies that had been making heavy attacks against China for 7 months, and as the Song armies were about to make a counterattack. So how can they be used as evidence that the Song armies plotted the invasion of Vietnam in advance of the Vietnamese attack?

In fact, at that time the strength of the Song dynasty was extremely weak. In the north it was being seriously threatened by incursions from the Liao and Western Xia minority peoples for which reason Wang Anshi instituted his political reforms, hoping to make the country prosperous and militarily powerful to deal with the Liao and the Western Xia. It was utterly powerless and lacked the will to wage war against Vietnam. On the contrary, it was the Li dynasty in Vietnam that wanted to capitalize on this situation to invade Song China. Even the Vietnamese feudal dynastic history, "Complete History of Imperial Vietnam" (Vol III) reports that when the Vietnamese armies invaded the Song, "It was said that Song practice of policies relating to the taxing of unripened grain and corvee labor hurt the Chinese people, so the dispatch of an expeditionary force to challenge the government would rescue them [from these policies]." As to whether the unripened grain and corvee labor laws were good or bad may be put aside for the moment. What matters is that they were internal Chinese matters, so by what right did the Vietnam feudal dynasty "send an expeditionary force to challenge the [Chinese] government?" But this combat declaration does show that it was the Vietnamese forces that initiated attacks on the Song, and were not "making a pre-emptive strike for the sake of self-defense." It entirely exposes the lies of the "History of Vietnam." The "History of Vietnam" did not dare use the aforesaid quote from the "Complete History of Imperial Vietnam," but rather edited history to show that when the Vietnamese armies invaded Chinese territory, Li Thuong Se "sent people everywhere to put up notices to inform the Chinese people

that the invasion by our armies were for the purpose of self-defense, and to smash an invasion plot that the Song Dynasty had long been plotting." (8) It claims black is white in this way throughout!

The actual progress of the war also refutes the fabrications of modern Vietnamese "history." The Vietnamese armies fairly easily occupied Quinzhou and Lianzhou and moved on to encircle Yongzhou. The prefect of Yongzhou, Su Jian, concentrated his men and horses in the city to meet the enemy. His manpower totaled only 2,800 people from the urban area inclusive of garrison forces and civilians of all ages." (9) This urban area army of the Song dynasty was a motley collection of people pressed into military service and lacking any real combat capabilities. Furthermore, such a small city defense force composed of a garrison army and civilians of all ages shows that Yongzhou was actually an undefended city. The statement by Vietnam that Yongzhou was the "center" of an "invasion base" of the Song armies is completely false. Faced with a powerful enemy numbering 100,000, Su Jian was hopelessly outnumbered and after the city fell he committed suicide. The "Complete History of Imperial Vietnam" records this episode in history and said, "Out of devotion to Su Jian, no one in the city would surrender." This infuriated the invaders who thereupon "slaughtered more than 58,000 people." But the "History of Vietnam" doesn't contain a word about this slaughter of innocent Chinese civilians; but instead praises to the sky the murderous arch-criminal Li Thuong Se. A history book such as this one published by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which professes Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology, surprisingly has no more regard for facts than the history books written by the feudal dynasties of Vietnam. And that it would revel in singing the praises of generals and ministers of state that served an emperor is truly ridiculous and saddening!

Of course, no matter whether it was a Chinese feudal ruler that launched an aggressive war against Vietnam or whether it was a Vietnamese feudal ruler that launched an aggressive war against China does not make a great deal of difference as far as historical relations between China and Vietnam are concerned, and much less can one regard such as the only ingredient in the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations. To do so would be to crudely distort history and to trample historical materialism under foot. Stalin long ago pointed out that "If historical science is to become a true science, it can no longer lump together the history of social development and the actions of imperial generals and prime ministers, or lump together the actions of national 'aggressors' and the 'conquered'." Rather, it should first of all study the history of the producers of material goods, the history of the toiling masses, and the history of the people of each country." (10) As far as the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations is concerned, the friendly intercourse and mutual assistance of the Chinese and Vietnamese people is the real mainstream.

Since ancient times, the friendly intercourse between the people of China and Vietnam has played a very good role in the economic and cultural development of both. Numerous production techniques from China such as fertilization, irrigation, deep plowing, the raising of silkworms and the growing of mulberry, paper manufacture, porcelain manufacture and building, and pharmacological and metallurgical techniques were transmitted to Vietnam. Vietnam's Chiem Thanh rice, sugarbeets, longans, and lichees were also transmitted to China. The influence of China's Han language on Vietnam was very great; the vocabulary of the Han language preserved in the Vietnamese vocabulary, or vocabulary that has its origins in the Han language accounts

for more than half the total. In customs and habits as well, the Chinese and Vietnamese people share many points in common, specifically the lunar New Year, Qingming [Thanh Minh], Dragon Boat [Duan Ngo], and Mid-Autumn festival days, which have been traditionally shared by the people of both countries.

In addition to economic and cultural exchanges, in their struggle and mutual support against common enemies, the peoples of China and Vietnam have long since formed a precious camaraderie in arms.

The "Nhi Chinh Rebellion," which the Vietnamese authorities so vigorously propagandize, was actually an uprising against oppression and slavery jointly carried out by the ancestors of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. According to historical accounts, the area affected by the rebellion at the time was very broad, encompassing more than 60 walled towns, more than half of which were in China.

In recent times, the Chinese and Vietnamese people have fought shoulder to shoulder. Examples are numerous of their fight against Western imperialist aggression and feudal rule. An example is the famous Chinese Black Banner Army, which together with the Vietnamese people, valiantly resisted French invading armies between 1870 and 1880. Later on, Phan Boi Chau, the forerunner of the Vietnamese bourgeois democratic revolution, and others, used China as a base for their national salvation struggle. At the same time, the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution led by Sun Zhongshan obtained valuable assistance from the Vietnamese people.

Following the October Revolution, relations between the people and the revolutionaries of China and Vietnam became closer. Many of the revolutionary activities during the lifetime of Comrade Ho Chi Minh were carried out from Chinese territory. At that time, the Guangxi Province border was really a base for Vietnamese revolutionaries. In another realm, when the Chinese people were engaged in their war of liberation, whenever the Chinese Communist led Guangdong-Guangxi columns and the Yunnan-Guangxi columns were surrounded by the enemy, they moved into liberated areas in Vietnam, where they were enthusiastically supported by the Vietnamese Party Central Committee and the various nationalities in the Vietnamese border area.

With the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949, Sino-Vietnamese relations entered a new stage, and friendship between the peoples of the two countries developed further. The liberated Chinese people made support to the national liberation struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people their bounden internationalist duty. Old China was an extremely poor and backward country. As soon as the New China was born and full-scale construction was underway, it was confronted with the arduous task of resistance to America and assistance to Korea. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government still decided to exert itself to the maximum to support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against France. Subsequently came China's "3 year period of economic hardships," followed by the "10 years of turmoil," but even under these circumstances, the Chinese people continued to tighten their belts for all out support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the United States.

During the early 1950's when the Vietnamese war of resistance to France was faced with hardships, Comrade Ho Chi Minh came to Beijing for an exchange of views with the CCP Central Committee. Comrade Mao Zedong decided on all out support for Vietnam, and to defer establishment of diplomatic relations with France while immediately establishing relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. While Vietnam was

engaged in its national salvation war of resistance to the United States, Comrade Mao Zedong also said that if any among us said we were unable to help the Vietnamese people's struggle for national salvation against the United States, he was a traitor to the revolution. Comrade Zhou Enlai frequently used this quote from Comrade Mao Zedong to instruct our cadres and masses.

During their lifetimes, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai expended great energy to help Vietnam. The requests for assistance that Vietnam presented over the years, they studied personally, and put themselves in Vietnam's place when thinking about them. Comrade Mao Zedong even took into consideration that the climate in the southern part of Vietnam is hot and humid with numerous mosquitoes, bugs, and ants, so he directed that Vietnamese soldiers should be equipped with mosquito nets. He was particularly concerned that when dry rations for Vietnamese soldiers were concentrated, though quantities might be small, nutrition should be plentiful. As a result, China devoted a civilian good plant in Shanghai to a concentrated dry ration plant. In order to assure timely delivery in Vietnam of materials to help Vietnam, Comrade Zhou Enlai devoted a lot of thought to the properties and quality of packaging and transportation means for weapons and ammunition. He was mindful that it was women who were responsible for transportation work at that time, and that often it was necessary to carry things on the tops of heads or on shoulders. So Comrade Zhou Enlai notified units concerned that aid materials for Vietnam should not exceed 30 kilograms in weight. He also personally dispatched Comrade Fang Yi and Comrade Li Qiang for on-the-spot observations in Vietnam, and strictly instructed them, "If you do not finish your job, don't come back to see me." Comrade Fang Yi and Comrade Li Qiang braved bombings to go to central Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Trail, traveling several thousand kilometers, and making on-site inspections of numerous projects built with China's assistance, understanding the communications and transportation situation, soliciting the views and requirements of the Vietnamese, and placing before Comrade Zhou Enlai, after returning to China, a detailed report for improving work. Comrade Zhou Enlai worked this way night and day to help Vietnam, and even after becoming seriously ill and going to a hospital, he would still discuss with responsible Vietnamese persons the work of aiding Vietnam.

Over a period of more than 20 years, the Chinese Government and people uncomplainingly provided great quantities of assistance to the Vietnamese people, statistics showing the total value to have been more than \$20 billion worth. This included light and heavy arms and ammunition and other military supplies sufficient to arm more than 2 million people in the army, navy, and airforce, plus hundreds of production plants and repair shops. It included more than 300 million meters of cotton cloth and more than 30,000 motor vehicles, several hundred kilometers of railroads and all the tracks, locomotives, and cars for them, more than 5 million tons of grain, more than 2 million tons of gasoline, more than 3,000 kilometers of pipeline, and several hundred million dollars in cash etc. China's aid to Vietnam had no strings attached; most of it was rendered gratis, only a small portion being interest-free loans.

In the process of aiding Vietnam, the Chinese people's concerns were the Vietnam's people's concerns. The first group of Model-56 semi-automatic rifles and submachine guns produced by New China and the newly successfully developed machineguns for light or heavy use, as well as the Model-62 heavy pontoon bridges, were priority

shipped to Vietnam even before China's own forces were equipped with them. Some weapons such as anti-aircraft guns and radar were given to Vietnam to help its fight against the United States, even though production was insufficient for use inside of China and China's armed forces had to go without them. Sometimes in order to meet an emergency, large amounts of arms and ammunition were transferred from equipment belonging to active duty Chinese People's Liberation Army forces. When steel pipes needed for a gasline project to deliver gasoline to Vietnamese forces in the field was inadequate, despite delays in laying a gasline of strategic significance that was then underway in China, China diverted steel pipes to aid Vietnam.

In addition to material assistance, during a period of 28 years, China also sent more than 20,000 experts and advisors, and engineer and air defense units numbering more than 300,000 men to Vietnam. Comrade Mao Zedong instructed personnel sent to aid Vietnam that they should regard the actions of the Vietnamese people like their own actions, serve the Vietnamese people with one heart and one mind, overcome all difficulties, and prepare to make sacrifices for the Vietnamese people. He and Comrade Zhou Enlai also frequently reminded China's personnel assisting Vietnam that they must resolutely oppose great nation Chauvinism, cherish everything belonging to the Vietnamese, and positively not permit damage to the interests of the Vietnamese people. In May 1960 during a visit to a Hanoi soap plant, Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote the following inscription with his own hand: "I have seen with my own eyes that cooperation between the workers and experts of Vietnam and China in this plant is very good, and this is something to be pleased about. However, I am also worried lest there might be some experts and workers from China who are able to cooperate well with Vietnamese experts and workers who may have great nation chauvinist feelings, who are arrogant and self-satisfied, who do not want to teach their skills to Vietnam comrades, and who do not want to learn from the strengths of Vietnamese comrades and the style of hard and simplicity of the Vietnamese people. I hope that all Chinese experts and workers will give attention and be vigilant about these matters, and I hope even more that Vietnamese comrades will teach and criticize them much." Comrade Zhou Enlai also especially noted that he hoped his words would be transmitted to all Chinese experts and workers in Vietnam, and transmitted to all Vietnamese comrades with whom they worked. Chinese personnel assisting Vietnam firmly remember this instruction. In rendering assistance to the Vietnamese people, thousands of fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people contributed their precious lives, and the remains of more than 1,000 people have been buried in the soil of Vietnam.

Formerly Vietnamese leaders also acknowledged that Chinese assistance had played an active role in winning victory for Vietnam, in healing its wounds, in rehabilitating and developing its economy, and in improving the life of its people. In 1974 Pham Van Dong said, "In every circumstance, the Chinese party and government selflessly supported and helped the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle and the rebuilding of their homeland." In 1975, Le Duan also said, "Very clearly, without China with its successful revolution, there could be no today for Vietnam. This is the logic of history." However, later on, because of the need to be anti-China, the Vietnamese authorities broke faith, wilfully vilified Chinese aid, and slandered China as being like "the number one reactionary imperialist." China treated assistance like a "bargaining chip" and an "instrument with which to apply pressure," using aid to "force" Vietnam to change its "line of independence, self-determination, and international unity," etc. Vietnam launched vicious attacks in particular against China's reduction of assistance to Vietnam and the final forced stoppage of aid following full liberation of Vietnam.

With regard to the post-war assistance issue, following the liberation of Vietnam in 1975, China's leaders more than once told the Vietnamese leaders frankly and sincerely that strong support of the building of socialism in Vietnam was the unswerving policy of the Chinese party, but the problem now was how to handle Vietnam's needs and China's capabilities. During the period of Vietnam's struggle against the United States, the Chinese people did all in their power to provide assistance, and the aid given greatly exceeded China's strength. Now the war was over the Vietnam had siezed a large amount of booty at the conclusion of the war. After the war, it had obtained assistance from many quarters, while China's economy was facing tremendous hardships. Under these new circumstances, Vietnam should allow us to catch our breath. Despite this, China continued, insofar as it was able, to help Vietnam revive and develop its economy.

At first Vietnam's leaders expressed their "understanding" that the scale of China's post-war assistance would be less than during the war, which was an extremely usual and easily understood way of doing things. However, later on for the sake of being more anti-China, they spouted a stream of empty rhetoric about China's reduction of aid. This not only demonstrated once again their contradicting themselves, and how unscrupulous they were in being anti-China, but it also fully demonstrated that they do not have even a modicum of sympathy for the privations the Chinese people had endured.

Up until mid-1978, as the result of the large scale expulsion to China of overseas Chinese by the Le Duan clique, China carried a formidable financial and material burden in arranging for jobs and a livelihood for the refugee overseas Chinese. Additionally, the increasingly serious anti-Chinese actions and discrimination against Chinese inside Vietnam destroyed the minimal conditions for Chinese experts in Vietnam to continue performance of their work, and the Chinese government had no choice but to make the decision to stop economic and technical support to Vietnam and to transfer back to China from Vietnam its project technicians.

It must be emphatically pointed out that despite the substantial assistance China has rendered Vietnam in the past, the Chinese people have all along believed that the revolutionary struggle of the people of every country is always to be mutually supported. Both Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai told the Vietnamese leaders that the Chinese people placed a high value on the Vietnamese people for the major contributions they had made to advancing mankind's endeavors. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "To tell the truth, the people of the world including the Chinese people, and the Chinese Party want to thank you." Comrade Zhou Enlai also said, "To you who are standing in the very front line of arduous struggle, and for your fearless spirit in valiantly killing the enemy, the Chinese people, the Chinese Party, the Chinese government and the Chinese armed forces express admiration and thanks. The people of the world are also indebted to you. In the past the Chinese people have always praised and thanked the Vietnamese people for winning victory in their battle agains the United States. Today they still regard them in this way, and in future they will still regard them this way. However, this most certainly is not to say that the Vietnamese authorities can use the meritorious service of the Vietnamese people as their anti-China capital. The Vietnamese authorities loudly propagandize how Vietnam used its blood and human lives in the war against the United States to protect China, castigating China for "ingratitude," and "requiting kindness with enmity." After the people of the world see some of the aforesated

circumstances of assistance rendered by the Chinese government and people, they will naturally come to a just conclusion as to who is ungrateful and who requites kindness with enmity.

In looking back over the past 100 years of Sino-Vietnamese relations, anyone who uses the historical materialist outlook to observe and analyze historical events will not find it hard to realize that the wars provoked by the feudal rulers of both China and Vietnam in the past were but a temporary interlude in the long historical course of Sino-Vietnamese relations, while the friendly intercourse and mutual help of the Chinese and Vietnamese people was the mainstream of that historical course.

2. Origins and Development of the Present Differences

For quite some time, a new countercurrent has really appeared in Sino-Vietnamese relations. Where has it come from?

During the 1950's, Sino-Vietnamese relations were extremely close. After China and the USSR began their open polemic on the issue of the line of the international communist movement, even though some differences occurred between the two parties and the two countries, in an overall sense, prior to the mid 1960's, Sino-Vietnamese relations remained very good.

In 1964, the Brezhnev clique came to power in the USSR. They changed their way of doing things in the Vietnamese war of national salvation against the United States, adopting a posture of "positive support." From this time onward, Vietnam began to gradually rely on the USSR.

Beginning in 1965, just when China was going all out with aid to Vietnam to carry on the war against the United States, overt publications in Vietnam published a series of articles, one after another, using historical issues to oppose China, propagandizing "northern invasion" and enumerating past wars in which the Vietnamese people had resisted China's feudal dynasties, even likening them to the war against the United States at the time.

In April 1966, Comrade Zhou Enlai said to Le Duan in Beijing that Vietnam had recently especially propagandized the history of China's past encroachments in Vietnam during the feudal period, and asked why this matter was being brought up at this time, and why history was being dredged up for study? The central issue today is anti-imperialism! Le Duan said that Vietnam had no intention of using historical issues against China. "This we have never done. We are very discreet." The editor-in-chief of the Vietnamese NHAN DAN, Huang Tong, said, half in admission and half in denial, "NGHIEN CUU LICH SU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] has, but the newspapers have not." Facts show that following this conversation, there was no weakening of Vietnam's anti-China stance, but rather an intensification. It went from magazines to newspapers, and from attacking by innuendo to outright abuse. Especially serious was the movement from expressions of views to action, and from the use of historical issues to oppose China to the occupation of Chinese soil, provoking border clashes and much persecution, and driving overseas Chinese out of the country.

Heretofore there had never been any controversial border problems between China and Vietnam. But during the past several years, the Vietnamese authorities constantly stirred up border trouble, created disputed areas on the border, demanded that

two-thirds of the area of the Tonkin Gulf be ceded to Vietnam, and sent soldiers to occupy some of the islets in China's Nansha Islands.

The Nansha and Xisha archipelagoes in the South China Sea have been Chinese territory historically. This is not only fully attested by a large quantity of Chinese historical data and archaeological excavations, but was also so recognized by the Vietnamese authorities prior to 1974. On 15 June 1956, the deputy foreign minister of Vietnam formally stated to China that "historically, these islets have been Chinese territory." On 4 September 1958, the Chinese government announced in a statement about its territorial waters that regulations pertaining to territorial waters "pertain to all of the territory of the Chinese People's Republic including... Dongsha Archipelago, Xisha Archipelago, Zhongsha Archipelago, and Nansha Archipelago..." On 14 September of the same year a note from Vietnam's Premier Pham Van Dong to Premier Zhou Enlai said: "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam recognizes and approves the 4 September 1958 statement of the Chinese People's Republic pertaining to regulations on China's territorial waters." The Democratic Republic of Vietnam government honors this decision. A 9 May 1965 statement from the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on an announcement by American president Johnson about "combat zones" in Vietnam and near Vietnam clearly recognized the Xisha Archipelago to be Chinese. Vietnamese maps official published prior to 1975 also never showed Xisha or Nansha archipelagoes as being part of Vietnam. All maps showing Xisha and Nansha archipelagoes also used their Chinese names and noted their ownership by China. Examples were a "World Map prepared by the Map Department of the General Staff of the Vietnam People's Army in 1960. an "Atlas of Vietnam" published in May 1964 by the Vietnamese Mapping Bureau, a "World Atlas" printed in May 1972 by the Vietnam National Survey and Mapping Bureau, and a "World Political Map" second issue of March 1974.

However, in April 1975 on the eve of the liberation of Saigon, the Vietnamese authorities took the opportunity to invade six islets of China's Nansha archipelago. The Vietnamese NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN thereupon publicly reported that the Southern Vietnam Liberation Army had "liberated" some islets in the "Truong Sa Archipelago" (i.e. China's Nansha Archipelago). On 3 June 1975, the China Section of the Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs unexpectedly stated to the Chinese ambassador to Vietnam that "The Truong Sa Archipelago (i.e. Nansha Archipelago) has been Vietnamese territory since ancient times," adding that Vietnam "has abundant data to prove that Hoang Sa Archipelago (i.e. China's Xisha Archipelago) is Vietnamese territory." At the same time, the Vietnamese authorities loudly propagandized that Xisha Archipelago and Nansha Archipelago "are Vietnamese territory," and revised the maps that they themselves had published to make Xisha and Nansha archipelagos a part of the map of Vietnam.

It must be noted that prior to 1974, the Soviet authorities also steadily recognized Xisha Archipelago and Nansha Archipelago to be Chinese territory. But simultaneous with Vietnam's contradicting itself, the USSR also made a 180 degree turn, turning its back on its own former position to support the expansionist ambitions of the Vietnamese authorities.

Beibu Gulf (Tonkin Gulf) is a semi-closed gulf hemmed in by continental China and Vietnam and by China's Hainan Island. For a long period of time it has been a major maritime transportation avenue over which China and Vietnam have conducted economic and cultural exchanges, and over which the countries of the world have maintained intercourse with South China and North Vietnam. Beibu Gulf's sea waters had never

been divided according to country. On 26 December 1973, Vietnam's deputy foreign minister also announced that "Owing to Vietnam's having been in a constant state of war, no division has as yet been made in the sea waters of Tonkin Gulf."

However, the Vietnamese authorities subsequently suddenly ate these words, insisting that a boundary line had been drawn by Vietnam and China in Beibu Gulf, concocting out of thin air "a border line in the waters of Beibu Gulf," drawing their so-called boundary line along the edge of China's Hainan Island, delineating two-thirds of Beibu Gulf's sea area as belonging to Vietnam. Such a totally unreasonable demand China, quite naturally, could not accept.

The Sino-Vietnamese land frontier was defined in a treaty signed between the Chinese Qing dynasty and the government of France, the then ruler of Vietnam, during the closing years of the 19th century. In documents exchanged between the Chinese and Vietnamese parties during 1957 and 1958, both parties expressed a desire to respect this boundary line, and the prevailing border would be strictly maintained in a few stretched in which problems inherited from history existed pending consultations between the central governments of both countries.

However, beginning in 1974 and without regard for the agreements reached by the two parties in documents exchanged, Vietnam began organized, planned, and directed large scale incidents on the Sino-Vietnam border, frequently nibbling away at and encroaching upon China's territory. Beginning in March 1975, China repeatedly proposed border talks between the Chinese and Vietnamese governments using the Sino-French treaty as a basis and through friendly consultations to fully resolve the problem of the border between China and Vietnam. However, Vietnam found countless excuses for delays so time dragged on until October 1977 when the talks began. At the meeting, the Chinese delegate proposed that using the Sino-French border agreement as a basis, the entire orientation of the border line be fixed to solve all controversial territorial questions pertaining to the border. Any areas in which one side exercised jurisdiction that transcended the border line stipulated in the treaty, should, in principle, be unconditionally returned to the opposite side. If there was no common agreement on the actual orientation of the border line in any given section, this could be resolved through friendly negotiation. Then, a Sino-Vietnamese border treaty could be signed to replace the Sino-French treaty; the vorder being remarked with new markers put up. Prior to the taking of effect of the Sino-Vietnamese border treaty, both parties would respect the principles affirmed in the documents exchanged by the two parties, maintaining the present state of the frontier and using no formula or pretext for unilaterally changing the actual areas of jurisdiction so as to preserve the tranquility of the border of both nations. However, in the course of the talks, Vietnam persistently adopted an attitude of deliberately raising new obstacles, and harrassment with unreasonable demands. It attempted to pressure China to recognize Vietnam's unreasonable demands on the issue of delineating the Beibu Gulf as a pre-condition for discussion of the question of the land border. Later on, though agreeing to a discussion by both sides of the land border issue, it suddenly brought out a "draft border agreement," asking that both sides sign a formal border agreement even before solving specific controversial problems about the land frontier. This was completely putting the cart before the horse. Solely as a result of these two issues, the talks made not the slightest progress for a period of about 8 months, fully reflecting the "delaying tactics" of the Vietnamese side. As a result, after more than 10 months of talds, no agreement

had been reached between the two sides even on the procedures for discussion of land frontier questions. In August 1978, giving as a reason "busyness with other work," the Vietnamese authorities broke off the talks.

While this was going on, the Vietnamese authorities were constantly provoking incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border, while also countercharging China with "carrying out armed provocations" along the border. Because of the fabrication of facts, it was impossible to avoid holes and inconsistencies. For example, the Vietnam PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER of 17 December 1978 published news released by the Vietnam News Agency, vilifying China for firing artillery shells at the 25th border marker along the border of Luongson Province in Vietnam, "penetrating southeastward into Vietnamese territory for several thousand meters." A Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs note given the Chinese ambassador on 26 December said the firing of artillery shells at the 25th border marker was "in a southwesterly direction" in Vietnam's "territory for a distance of 1,000 meters." A day later, the Vietnam NHAN DAN editorial of 27 December said it was at the 25th border marker "southeastward for several hundred meters" that the artillery shells were fired. Three accounts of a single affair fully exposed this fabricator among Vietnamese authorities.

In order to prevent a sharp deterioration in the Sino-Vietnamese border situation, China adopted an extremely restrained attitude toward Vietnam's constant manufacture of border incidents. The Chinese government taught armed forces and civilians in the border zone to strictly observe policies, and instructed them to reason things out and try to dissuade Vietnamese personnel from making intrusions and provocations, but not fighting or cursing them, and absolutely not opening fire against them. Even if armed Vietnamese personnel were to open fire killing or wounding our personnel, our personnel were not to return fire. But the Vietnamese regarded China's forbearance as weakness, and provocations along the Sino-Vietnam border grew in intensity. After it broke off border talks between the two countries, in particular, Vietnam went all out. Under these circumstances, China's border defense units had no choice but to undertake necessary counterattacks in self-defense.

The disputed areas along the Sino-Vietnamese land frontier are really not numerous. The Vietnamese authorities themselves acknowledge that in some of the disputed areas, Vietnam is occupying Chinese territory. Moreover, as long ago as September 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping told Le Duan that on the issue of the Sino-Vietnamese land frontier, "It is nothing but a dispute here about a few score mu of land, and a dispute there about a few score mu of land. I don't think the disputes are large, and the problems can be solved easily." Then, why is it that the Vietnamese authorities do not desire to solve through talks this problem that is not difficult to solve? The reason is that they want to use the Sino-Vietnamese border problems as a card, using it outside Vietnam to meet the USSR's anti-China requirements in exchange for greater rewards from the USSR.

After the Vietnam authorities continued to stir up territorial disputes between China and Vietnam, they then began severe oppression of overseas Chinese inside the country. As long ago as the period of the Three Kingdoms [A.D. 221-263], Chinese people had begun to move into Vietnam. In each subsequent dynasty, there was a continuous stream of immigrants, and overwhelming majority being working people. For a long time, they have lived in peace with the Vietnamese people, and actively participated in Vietnam's revolution and construction. During the past 100 years, in particular, during the years of wars of national salvation against France,

against Japan, and against the United States, the broad masses of overseas Chinese living in Vietnam shouldered the struggle, bled, and sacrificed along with the Vietnamese people, making ineffaceable contributions to the liberation endeavors of the Vietnamese people. Some Vietnamese leaders have also affirmed this point. In 1958, the chairman of the Vietnam General Trade Union, Hoang Quoc Viet, remarked to overseas Chinese workers in Vietnam during a May Day celebration: "During the period of the war of resistance, you enthusiastically did all work together with Vietnamese workers and the people of Vietnam. In liberated areas you produced for the people all sorts of things needed in daily life, and you manufactured weapons in the mountains. In enemy occupied areas, you carried out a struggle against exploitation or went to the front to join in killing the enemy. No matter the place, we were shoulder to shoulder, bleeding and sacrificing to oppose a common enemy. The Vietnamese people will never forget this work of yours."(11)

When visiting "An Exhibition of Vietnam Overseas Chinese Achievements in Participating in the Building of Socialism in 1963, Le Duan himself also wrote a few words of praise: "The tremendous achievements and extremely valuable contributions made by overseas Chinese brothers and sisters in revolutionary endeavors for the liberation of the Vietnamese people and in socialist construction."

As regards the citizenship rights and obligations of overseas Chinese residing in Vietnam, following consultations in 1955 between the Chinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese Labor Party, the following fundamental principles were agreed upon: Overseas Chinese residing in Vietnam shall enjoy the same rights as Vietnamese, and following a long period of patient ideological persuasion and educational work and in accordance with the principle of free will, they may gradually convert to Vietnamese citizenship, and there will positively be no discrimination against overseas Chinese who retain Chinese citizenship. Provided they meet the requirements, overseas Chinese may participate in parties and organizations in Vietnam, and may work in Vietnamese government organisations at all levels, enjoying the same political treatment and material rewards as Vietnamese cadres. The speech, writing, customs, and habits of overseas Chinese shall be respected. At the time, the two parties also agreed that the overseas Chinese problem in southern Vietnam would await liberation of southern Vietnam when both countries would enter into consultations to solve it.

For the past 20 years and more, China has made tremendous efforts to carry out this accord adopting important measures in all respects to assist Vietnam in inducing overseas Chinese to willingly become Vietnamese citizens. In May 1960, when Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi visited Vietnam, they personally met with overseas Chinese representatives and did deepgoing and meticulous ideological persuasion and educational work to mobilize them to voluntarily become Vietnamese citizens. Comrade Chen Yi said, "Socialist Vietnam is our closest neighbor. Overseas Chinese in Vietnam must first of all respond to the call of the CCP Central Committee and the government of the motherland to adopt Vietnamese citizenship and become a model. To be a citizen of socialist China is glorious, and likewise to be a citizen of socialist Vietnam is also glorious."

Because they needed to unite with overseas Chinese resident in Vietnam in the common struggle for the liberation of the Vietnamese people, for a period of time the Vietnamese authorities acted in accordance with the spirit of the aforestated two party accord. In their own documents, they clearly stipulated that "overseas

Chinese adoption of Vietnamese citizenship should be entirely voluntary, and positively cannot be forced." "Those who do not voluntarily adopt Vietnamese citizenship, shall continue to have all rights, may not be discriminated against, and positively no impetuous or pre-emptory methods may be used to oppress them or discriminate against them." This document also referred to the need to "grant overseas Chinese enjoyment of all political, economic, cultural and social rights equal to those of Vietnamese citizens, and to actively give overseas Chinese the rights that pertain in every situation so that overseas Chinese will feel that they receive the same concern and protection from living in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as from living in China.

In so doing, the Vietnamese authorities earned the acceptance and support of the broad masses of overseas Chinese living in Vietnam. It was also precisely on this account that despite the cruelty of war and the hardships of life, they firmly continued to remain in Vietnam and to stand shoulder to shoulder in combat with the Vietnamese people, quite a few people voluntarily becoming Vietnamese citizens as well.

However, following liberation of all of Vietnam in 1975, the Vietnamese authorities turned their backs little by little, on the aforesaid accord between the two parties.

Not long after southern Vietnam had been liberated, the Vietnamese authorities announced that "in southern Vietnam, virtually all overseas Chinese had become Vietnamese citizens as long ago as 1956, so they no longer were overseas Chinese but rather Vietnamese of Chinese origin." As is well known, beginning in 1956, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique promulgated a series of reactionary laws forcing overseas Chinese in southern Vietnam to abandon their Chinese citizenship. On 20 May 1957, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Chinese People's Republic announced its violent opposition to these methods of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, pointing out that they not only brutally transgressed the just rights of the Overseas Chinese in South Vietnam, but also seriously violated the principles of international law. On 24 May the Vietnam Labor Party central organization PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER published a criticism titled, Ngo Dinh Diem Clique is the Common Enemy of the Vietnamese People and the Overseas Chinese," which stated that "the Vietnamese people completely agree with the statement from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Chinese People's Republic, and strongly rebuke such vicious methods and plots of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique." It pointed out that "action by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to force overseas Chinese in southern Vietnam to adopt Vietnamese citizenship was a dictatorial and fascist action that seriously violated international law." Subsequently between 1960 and 1968, the Southern Vietnam People's Liberation Front several times clearly proclaimed "elimination of all reactionary laws of the American puppet authority that oppress overseas Chinese, and protection of all just rights of overseas Chinese."

But, just when the broad masses of overseas Chinese in southern Vietnam were as one with the Vietnamese people, and joyously celebrating the liberation of southern Vietnam, the Vietnamese authorities unexpectedly turned around and said that virtually all overseas Chinese had become Vietnamese citizens as long ago as 1956. This was the kind of affirmation they gave their past proclamation of wanting to get rid of the reactionary laws of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique that forced overseas Chinese to take Vietnamese citizenship, and the kind of affirmation they gave to what had been

scored as "dictatorial, fascistic action that seriously violated international law." Furthermore, in so doing, the Vietnamese authorities also completely violated the accord reached between the Chinese and Vietnamese parties whereby the overseas Chinese problem in South Vietnam would wait until after the liberation of South Vietnam for further discussions between the two countries for a solution.

At the same time this was happening, the Vietnamese authorities were intensifying discrimination and oppression of overseas Chinese throughout the country. They relieved from their positions without cause numerous overseas Chinese cadres who had made a contribution in the struggle for liberation of the Vietnamese people who had leading positions at all levels, and they struck from the military rolls all overseas Chinese military cadres. They placed restrictions of various kinds on the employment of overseas Chinese so that large numbers of overseas Chinese roamed the streets. Those overseas Chinese lucky enough to remain in plants and enterprises were not accorded equal treatment with Vietnamese staff and workers in wages or welfare benefits. They also stripped overseas Chinese of their rights to run schools and hospitals, abolished overseas Chinese students' qualifications to attend college, shut down overseas Chinese publications, and disbanded overseas Chinese organizations. China several times used internal consultations to urge Vietnam to stop its anti-Chinese activities. But it clung obstinately to its course, going farther and farther, and by 1977 leading to the large scale expulsion of overseas Chinese. Everywhere Vietnam public security personnel assembled overseas Chinese in meetings and said openly, "Our plans have been made. Anyone not taking Vietnamese citizenship will be expelled." In order to drive out the overseas Chinese, the Vietnamese authorities fired them at every turn and sent them to life in "new economic zones," or taxed them heavily, made deductions from their consumption grain, confiscated their food coupons, cancelled their household registrations, or frequently subpoenaed them and confiscated their property, or arrested them without charging them with any crime. A large body of facts show that the return to China of several hundred thousand overseas Chinese was caused entirely by the Vietnamese authorities. The accord reached between the two parties of China and Vietnam on the overseas Chinese issue was thus entirely torn up.

It must be emphatically pointed out that among the reasons for the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations to the state they are in today, one extremely important element is the intensification of the practice of hegemony by Vietnam in Indochina, notably the flagrant armed aggression in Kampuchea.

As soon as the war against the United States was over, the Vietnamese authorities wasted no time in vigorously pushing their plans for the building of an "Indochina Federation." In Laos, they refused to withdraw the several tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops that occupied the country in the name of protecting the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" during the war, but rather they steadily increased the number of troops, gradually expanding to a military occupation of Laos. They pressured the Laos government to accept and to heed several thousand major and minor Vietnamese "advisors," and also forced Laos to sign a humiliating border treaty, and swallowed up a large tract of Laos territory along the Vietnam-Laos border. In 1977, they came up with a Vietnam-Laos "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation," expanding the so-called "special relationship" from a party relationship to a state relationship, and used legal methods to consolidate it.

While the Vietnamese authorities were bending efforts toward total control of Laos, they struck in Kampuchea. Following the liberation of Kampuchean government to enter into a "joint foreign policy and economic policy" with them, setting up a so-called "unified armed forces," and also called upon Kampuchea to join it in joint opposition to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Kampuchea refused in strong terms. Less than 2 months after the liberation of Saigon, the Le Duan clique sent soldiers to occupy Kampuchea's Wei [phonetic] Island. They were met with firm resistance by Kampuchea. In a case of requiting kindness with enmity, the Vietnamese authorities also refused to withdraw those parts of Kampuchean territory that Kampuchea had permitted Vietnam to use as part of its support for Vietnam's war of national liberation. In 1976, Vietnam and Kampuchea conducted border talks. In 1967, the South Vietnamese People's Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had publicly announced "recognition and guaranteeing to respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its present borders, and recognizing and guaranteeing to respect the present border between southern Vietnam and Kampuchea." However, in the 1976 border talks, the Le Duan clique once again went back on its word. It put forward an unreasonable demand to swallow up a large tract of territorial waters and territory belonging to Kampuchea. Naturally, Kampuchea would not accept this. Increasingly the Vietnamese authorities came to feel that the "disobedient" Kampuchea was an obstacle in their building of an "Indochinese Federation," so they made up their minds not to hesitate to use force to conquer Kampuchea.

After 1977, the scale of military provocations carried out by the Vietnamese authorities along the Vietnam-Kampuchea vorder became increasingly great. By the end of 1977, 50,000 troops were concentrated to invade Kampuchea. It was at this time that the Le Duan clique unexpectedly asked China to exert "influence" on Kampuchea, coercing Kampuchea to submit to the Vietnamese aggressor's pressure. This was curtly refused by China. China adhered to a position of principle, advocating Vietnam's withdrawal of forces from Kampuchea followed by talks and consultations to resolve disputes. The strategic invasion of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese authorities on that occasion, was later repulsed when the armed forces and people of Kampuchea rose in opposition. However, from this time forward, Vietnam harbored greater hatred not only toward Kampuchea but also toward China. The Fourth Plenary Session of the Vietnamese Communist Party decided, during the summer of 1978, on a "quick victory politically and militarily on the southwest border," for a so-called "implementation of a steadfast major task." At the same time, it also decided that although American imperialism is Vietnam's fundamental and long term enemy, its direct enemies are Beijing and Kampuchea." Thereafter, the Vietnamese authorities intensified their urgent preparations to launch another invasion of Kampuchea, at the same time strengthening their military deployments along the Sino-Vietnamese border and increasing the frequency of incidents.

At the end of 1978, the Le Duan clique finally sent several hundred thousand conventional forces along seven routes in a general attack against Kampuchea, which occupied Phnompenh. They knocked together a puppet government under Heng Samrin and signed a so-called "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation" with him. The Vietnamese authorities then supposed that their hegemonist endeavors in Indochina were finished. Two days following the signing of that treaty between Vietnam and "Kampuchea," the Vietnamese Nhan Dan forgot itself and exulted that the relationship among three countries of Indochina "has entered new era." The Vietnamese authorities never anticipated that the love for peace of the Kampuchean people, and the support of the people of all countries who advocate justice could bring about a continuation

and expansion of armed struggle against aggression. China clearly announced: "The Chinese people unswervingly stand on the side of the Kampuchean people," and "firmly support the Kampuchean people in carrying to the end their sacred war of national defense." Finally, in the wake of the aggression and counter-aggression over the Kampuchean problem, and the development of expansionist and counter-expansionist struggle, the present day situation of intense antagonism between China and Vietnam has come about.

3. Background and Reasons For the Promotion by Vietnamese Authorities of an Anti-China Policy.

From a review of the history of deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations during the past decade and more, people will not find it difficult to see that even though the anti-China policy of the Le Duan clique began during the mid 1960's, inasmuch as the war of national liberation had not concluded at that time, and the Vietnamese authorities still needed China's strong assistance, for a period of time, this anti-China policy had to be restrained. Following the Paris Accords of 1973, and particularly following the liberation of South Vietnam in 1975, the Le Duan clique felt it no longer had to consider the consequences of the anti-China issue.

More importantly, victory in the war against the United States made the Vietnamese authorities dizzy with success. They took over several billion dollars worth of weapons and equipment, and boasted that they were the "third strongest country in the world." Success turned their heads, and their expansionist ambitions became greatly inflated. They supposed that the opportunity to put into effect both their plans for an "Indochina Federation" and for hegemony in Southeast Asia had arrived. However, this wishful thinking foundered on China's determined opposition, but achieved encouragement and support in many ways from the USSR.

In order to achieve world hegemony, the USSR urgently needs forward bases in Southeast Asia so as to be able to hasten the pace of its southward expansion. If it is successful, Soviet military might push southward from Vladivostok for 4,000 kilometers, posing a direct threat to the Straits of Malacca and tying together its strategic deployments in the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean. This can also be coordinated with its strategic advance from the continent southward toward the Persian Gulf and connecting with the main battle line in Europe to form a global hegemonist and expansionist strategic system. Consequently, it took a fancy to the Le Duan clique. The Vietnam authorities, moreover, want to promote their regional hegemony and play the part of the hegemon of Southeast Asia, but their own power is limited and they need the support and assistance of the Soviet hegemonists. Thus, both sides fit together readily, forming a new alliance on the common foundation of desires for hegemony.

Under these circumstances, the feelings of enmity and hatred toward China of the Le Duan clique became increasingly strong, and it figured on strengthening mutual collaboration with the Soviet Union through anti-China actions. The sense of a relationship based on mutual usefulness therefore became more intense. In 1976, Hoang Tung said to a Swedish correspondent: "During the time of the Vietnam War, getting China and the USSR to do all possible to help North Vietnam was important for Vietnam. Now, Vietnam no longer has to carry out this policy...Today amity with the Soviet Union plays an extraordinarily important role for Vietnam.

The USSR strongly hopes to weaken China's influence in the world, and this coincides nicely with Vietnam's interests." "It was precisely on these issues that we began more and more to incline toward the USSR."⁽¹²⁾ This was truly a case of a single remark laying bare a great mystery. From this may be seen that the fundamental reason for the serious rupture in Sino-Vietnamese relations lay in the Vietnamese authorities wanting to practice hegemony. It was, on the one hand, anti-China and discriminating against China on the Sino-Vietnam border issue and on the overseas Chinese residents in Vietnam, and intensified expansion on the Indochina Peninsula on the other. These two things were mutually reinforcing; they both were an organic integral part of the promotion of a policy of regional hegemony.

In order to cover up the real reason for the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and evade their own culpability, the Le Duan clique unexpectedly resorted to recriminations, loudly shouting that it was China that was "anti-Vietnamese," and it was China that was a "threat" to Vietnam, concocting and spreading all sorts of preposterous arguments to this end.

(1) It said that because China feared Vietnam's strength, as the Vietnamese war of national liberation steadily gained victory, China became "anti-Vietnamese." The Secretary of the Secretariat of the Vietnamese Communist Party and Minister of the Foreign Liaison Department, Xuan Thuy, said, "Since the liberation of South Vietnam, in particular, and with the unification of Vietnam, they have been colder toward Vietnam, and have caused the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations to the state they are in today." Pham Van Dong also said, "When the people of our country won complete victory over the American aggressors and their running dogs in the south, Beijing then regarded the birth of a peaceful, independent, and united socialist Vietnam as an obstacle to its expansionist designs in Southeast Asia."

As a matter of fact, the Chinese people exulted in every victory of the Vietnamese people from the war against France to the war against the United States, because these victories were victories of revolutionary people opposing imperialist aggression, and in the process of the Vietnamese people achieving these victories, the Chinese people also discharged their responsibilities to the utmost. Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai said, "The Chinese people have all along regarded the struggle of the Vietnamese people as their own struggle, and regard the victory of the Vietnamese people as their own victory." These are words spoken from the bottom of the heart of the Chinese people. The Vietnamese authorities formerly acknowledged this point.

People will remember the solemn meeting held on 2 May 1975 in Beijing to commemorate the liberation of all of Vietnam. The Vietnamese ambassador to China at that time, Nguyen Trong Vinh expressed to China's leaders attending the meeting to "share" the "joy of victory" with the Vietnamese people "heartfelt gratitude," and he added, "Our victory is also the victory of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese government and the fraternal Chinese people who gave genuine, huge, and effective assistance." During September, Le Duan arrived in Beijing. He said to Comrade Mao Zedong, "Our countries have never been as happy as they are today, because we have attained the liberation of the entire country." "If we had not had the help you provided us, we could not have succeeded." "We have always believed that the one able to provide us the most direct, the most urgent, and the most fateful assistance was China rather than the USSR."

China has not intention of flaunting this assistance, but how could anyone ever imagine that China, which had so vigorously helped Vietnam could feel that Vietnam's victory was, as Xuan Thuy put it, "hard to bear?" If China truly had expansionist designs, then why would China want to provide the "most direct, most urgent, and most fateful assistance" to help Vietnam fulfill its great cause of independence and unity?

(2) The Le Duan clique said that China wanted to "force" upon Vietnam its own policy views, but that Vietnam would not accept them, and so China became "anti-Vietnam." A 6 July 1978 note from the government of Vietnam to the government of China said, "China tried in vain to force Vietnam to abandon its own correct line of independence, self-determination, and international unity, and when Vietnam would not be forced, China gradually promoted a policy of hostility toward Vietnam." Subsequently Xuan Thuy howled, "Because Vietnam's views and proposals differed from China's, particularly on the Great Cultural Revolution and Third World theory, China tried every manner of means in a vain effort to create a situation of instability in Vietnam, and to destroy Vietnam's peaceful construction."

Just what are the facts?

After the onset of the Sino-Soviet dispute, a divergence truly existed between China and Vietnam. However, China always took as its point of departure the overall situation of friendly unity. China clarified its own point of view with Vietnam and hoped to promote a closeness in mutual views, but if closeness could not be attained, it would seek common ground while reserving differences. China's leaders told Le Duan explicitly that the different views of the USSR do not affect the unity of our two parties. As to "Third World" theory, in 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping spoke of this theory in a chat with Le Duan and said that when I speak of this problem today, there is no hope that any fraternal parties will approve the intent of our point of view. But where both sides hold different views on an issue, you speak yours and I'll speak mine, each maintaining his own point of view. This is normal. As for the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong himself told the Vietnamese leaders that we are carrying out a great cultural revolution, but you cannot carry out one. It should also be noted that even though China and Vietnam long ago manifested differences on ideological issues, for many years we continued vigorous aid. From this may be seen that China's so-called wanting to force Vietnam to accept the Chinese line is fractional nonsense, is it not?

(3) The Le Duan clique said China poses a threat to Vietnam from the north and plans to swallow up Vietnam. A 15 March 1979 memorandum from the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the subject of Sino-Vietnamese border problems slandered China for "carrying out a large scale aggressive war aimed at swallowing up Vietnam." This February, Vietnam's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, loudly howled that "China must stop concentrating troops on our border, thereby getting rid of the threat created for our country's border."

Under what circumstances did China take action to counterattack in self-defense?

It has been noted in the foregoing that during the summer of 1978, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Vietnamese Communist Central Committee decided that Vietnam's direct enemies were China and democratic Kampuchea. In a directive handed down by the

Vietnamese authorities, China was termed the "most direct and the most dangerous enemy," and the "new combat adversary." and put forward "slogans" for the defeat of China." The "Educational Outline on New Situations and Tasks" promulgated on 8 July 1978 by the General Political Department of the Vietnam People's Army clearly stipulated adoption of "attack strategy" against China, and "carrying out of counterattacks and attacks inside and outside the border." It was precisely under the guidance of such policies and programs that Vietnam intensified the creation of more and more armed provocations and bloody incidents on the Sino-Vietnam border. During the six month period prior to 16 February 1979 alone, they made incursions along China's borders at 162 places, and killed or wounded more than 300 Chinese personnel. To take as an example the Pingmeng area of Napo County in Guangxi Province, which had a close relationship with the Vietnam revolution, more than 30 years ago, the people of Pingmeng risked their lives to protect and support Comrade Ho Chi Minh in undertaking revolutionary activities here. During the period of Vietnam's war against the United States, Pingmeng was a major artery for the shipment from China of large quantities of materials to aid Vietnam. However it has been calculated that since 1978 alone, this area has sustained more than 100 armed provocations from Vietnam. After personally witnessing the real situation on the Sino-Vietnam border, TOKYO SHIMBUN correspondent Aoki Shuzo [7230 2606 0719 0005] published a dispatch in that newspaper that said, "The real impression given from looking only at the situation at Friendship Pass and Dongxing Town is that the present situation shows, at minimum, that Vietnam frequently makes provocations and China is always restrained; however, this restraint is gradually approaching an extreme."

Only when the time came when it was no longer possible to bear, China had no choice but to carry out, on 17 February 1979, a necessary counterattack against the mad provocations of Vietnam on the Sino-Vietnam border; however, beginning on 5 March, China began the total withdrawal to Chinese territory of its border defense forces. China's action in counterattacking for self-defense was entirely proper, and it was in accord with the principles of self-defense generally recognized by international law throughout the world. Is it possible that only one side can constantly hit, but the other side is not allowed to hit back once?

China resolutely opposes any expansionist action, and has not intention whatsoever of swallowing up the territory of any country. China does not have a single soldier stationed outside its own territory. When the Vietnamese people were fighting against the United States, China sent to Vietnam anti-aircraft, engineering, railroad, and logistical support troops to help, totaling more than 320,000 men all in all. The maximum sent in a single year was more than 170,000 men. After fulfilling their internationalist task, all of them returned to China. In 1979, after China was forced to take the action of counterattacking Vietnam in its self-defense, it again very rapidly withdrew all its border defense forces to China. Were China thinking of swallowing up Vietnam, would it have done that? It is actually others who want to swallow up their neighbors. And the Vietnamese authorities who devotedly work at an "Indochina Federation," and who have stationed more than 200,000 troops in Laos and Kampuchea are one of them.

As for howling that China's concentration of troops on the Sino-Vietnamese border is a "threat" to Vietnam, China has, in fact, deployed a certain amount of military forces in parts of the provinces concerned.

These are for the purpose of self-defense, and are, at the same time, for the purpose of tying down on the northern front a portion of Vietnam's troop strength, thereby helping the fight against aggression of the Kampuchean people and helping maintain peace in the Southeast Asian region. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has ever respected the teaching of Comrade Mao Zedong, to wit: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. If the Vietnamese authorities truly feel deeply unhappy about China's deployments of a certain number of troops in the provinces along the border, that can only be because they are determined to continue to promote regional hegemony and are anxious to transfer more troops from the northern front to the southern front in order to increase the threat to Kampuchea's independence and to the security of all the countries of Southeast Asia.

(4) The Le Duan clique said that the entry into and stationing within Kampuchea of Vietnamese forces is for the purpose of countering the "China threat." An article titled "The Kampuchea Problem" published in the 24 November 1979 issue of the Vietnam Nhan Dan unexpectedly said that Vietnam's war of aggression against Kampuchea was China's "circling around from behind" Vietnam, "to engineer, organize and direct" the democratic Kampuchean government to launch "an aggressive war against Vietnam," and that Vietnam had carried out "an intense counterattack," "to wipe out the enemy and their places of origin." Not long ago, a statement issued by the "foreign ministers conference" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchean puppet officials insisted that China was supporting all forces in Kampuchea that were resisting Vietnamese and Heng Samrin's authority, the national independence of Kampuchea thereby sustaining a "threat," while the Vietnamese forces stationed in Kampuchea were for the purpose of countering the Chinese "threat," and "if suddenly this threat were no longer to exist, Vietnam would consult with Kampuchea on the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea."

To represent the Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea as China's engineering of a Kampuchean war of aggression against Vietnam is truly as disgraceful an affair as is known to man, and deserves no further refutation. Because the 34th and 35th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly passed by an overwhelming majority of votes a resolution on the Kampuchea issue, a clear conclusion has already been drawn as to who the aggressor is in this war between Vietnam and Kampuchea.

As to China's support for all forces opposed to the Vietnamese aggressors and the Kampuchean puppet authorities stop their aggression against Kampuchea, the Chinese government and people will certainly continue to do this. Not only is this the case with China, but an overwhelming majority of the countries of the world, particularly numerous Southeast Asian countries, use various different means to support Kampuchean patriotic forces. The reason we do this is precisely in order to maintain the national independence of Kampuchea, and to maintain world peace and the security of all the countries of Southeast Asia. The threat to Kampuchea's national independence is precisely the Vietnamese authorities themselves. Moreover, their stationing of troops in Kampuchea not only threatens the national independence of Kampuchea, but also threatens world peace and the security of each country in Southeast Asia. Singapore's Second Deputy Prime Minister, Rajaratnam, said not long ago to a correspondent from "the Straits Times," "We do not believe that China poses a threat to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations; we do believe, on the other hand, that Vietnam's stationing of 200,000 troops in Kampuchea is a threat to us."

Recently Vietnam so vigorously proclaimed that their stationing of forces in Kampuchea was for the purpose of countering the China "threat." At best this merely shows that the reason it is intensifying the spread of a "China threat" theory is to manufacture a pretext precisely for the purpose of remaining in Kampuchea and continuing to spread regional hegemonism. This way of doing things by the Vietnamese authorities has its counterpart in the use by the Soviet authorities of an external "threat" to Afghanistan as a pretext for their continued occupation of Afghanistan. What a striking similarity.

Engels said, "Ambition is the root of all deceit and lies." In order to realize its expansionist ambitions, and in order to try to conceal its ambitions, the Le Duan clique, in disregard of standing truth on its head, creates rumors and calumnies, and dishes out falsehoods of the kind that "China threatens Vietnam." But in the end, facts cannot be covered up by lies. In doing this, the more they try to hide, the more they are exposed.

4. The Way to Improve Sino-Vietnamese Relations

The deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations to their present state is entirely the doing of the Vietnamese authorities. This is a matter that has deeply pained both the Chinese government and the Chinese people. China continues to hope that the two contiguous neighbors, China and Vietnam, will be able to live together in friendship, and in 1979 took the initiative in proposing talks with Vietnam on state relations between the two countries. After the opening of talks, China put forward some suggested principles for improvement of relations between the two countries.

Inasmuch as the nub of the deterioration in relations between the two countries like in Vietnam's promotion of regional hegemonism, in order to restore normal relations between China and Vietnam, the crucial problem of opposition to hegemonism will have to be taken in hand. To this end, China proposed that both China and Vietnam jointly decided that "neither party should seek hegemony in Indochina, in Southeast Asia or in any other area, and that each party will oppose establishment of such efforts at hegemony by other countries or national blocs;" "that neither party will send occupation troops outside its own country, and that occupation troops already sent outside its own country must be returned to its own country. Neither side will join military blocs aimed at opposing the other party, will not provide military bases to foreign countries, and will not use other nations' territory and bases to pose a threat, subvert, or commit armed aggression against the other party or against another country.

Vietnam flatly refused, first of all, to discuss the fundamental issue of hegemonism. Later, although having no choice at the conference table but to talk about "opposition to hegemonism," it put forward so-called "five ingredients," none of which had the slightest thing to do with the key issues of sending foreign troops abroad, having to return to the country of origin troops already sent or stationed abroad, opposition to any other country seeking hegemony, not joining military blocs, or not providing military bases to foreign countries. This was because these struck at the lifeblood of Vietnamese regional hegemonism, and related to hegemonist Vietnam's relationships with the great hegemonist USSR of mutual collusion and reciprocal use. Under these circumstances, what is the point of a revival of Sino-Vietnam talks?

It appears that in pursuit of its policy of regional hegemonism, though the Vietnamese authorities have encountered increasingly great difficulties, their ambition is not yet dead. It will not be until they have encountered more powerful, more vigorous

opposition, and when finally they are at the end of their tether that they will consider changing their ways. Speaking for China, Comrade Zhao Aiyang has said that as soon as Vietnam withdraws its forces from Kampuchea, China is prepared to normalize state relations with Vietnam.

The deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations has placed new obstacles in the way of friendly intercourse between the people of China and Vietnam. However, whoever practices hegemonism is bound to fail sooner or later. The new countercurrent that has arisen in present Sino-Vietnamese relations, like the ancient wars provoked by China's and Vietnam's feudal dynasties, are merely a temporary interlude when compared with the several thousand years of friendly relations between China and Vietnam. "The green mountains cannot be covered and the rivers still flow into the sea." The long historical mainstream of Sino-Vietnamese relations of friendly intercourse between the people of China and Vietnam and their mutual support broke through in the past, and in the future it will certainly continue to break through all the obstacles that people have erected that run counter to the tide of history and roll along ahead.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' ON ELECTING SALIM U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL

OW030835 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1400 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporter Huai Chengbo: "True Friends"]

[Excerpts] Dar es Sallam, 1 Dec (XINHUA)---"What kind of people are true friends?" A well-informed Tanzanian friend suddenly asked me this question. I felt nervous and stared at his deep and glittering eyes. I was sure that he had no intention of discussing an issue that everyone knows but rather was thinking about a certain major event. As expected, he went on, saying: "Among the five nations in the Security Council, only China supports Salim. We Tanzanians appreciate that very much. However, someone who has time and again claimed to be a friend of the Third World just..." He did not finish the sentence. He did not have to. The meaning is understood.

Recently news of the election contest between Waldheim and Tanzania's Foreign Minister Salim for the post of the U.N. secretary general has been in the lime-light in local papers and on local radio stations constantly. It has become the central topic of conversation. All the people are closely watching the development of this event. China's stand at the Security Council to uphold justice and resolutely support Salim has been warmly praised by the broad masses of the Tanzanian people.

Both Tanzania and China belong to the Third World. In international affairs they have always coordinated with and supported each other and basked in profound friendship. Their views on this issue of electing the U.N. secretary general are completely identical.

However, Salim was vetoed by the United States in voting at the Security Council. A superpower's veto of Salim as the representative of the Third World was not unexpected by Tanzania. However, another superpower that had time and again called itself the "natural ally" of the Third World failed to support the representative of the Third World! Having falsely alleged that it would not veto anyone, by abstaining it actually joined another superpower in preventing the election of the representative of the Third World, Salim. Naturally, this attitude has disappointed and infuriated the Tanzanian people.

The election of the U.N. secretary general is now at a standstill. In order to fight for the interests of the Third World and break up one or two superpowers' monopoly over the running of U.N. administrative affairs, the Tanzanian leader has time and again reiterated his determination to coordinate with China and other Third World nations and join efforts in carrying this election struggle through to the end.

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PARTY AND STATE

REVIEW OF MAO ZEDONG'S EARLY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Changsha SHIDAIDE BAOGAO [CONTEMPORARY REPORT] in Chinese No 2, 15 Jun 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Li Rui [2621 6904]: "The Early Revolutionary Activities of Chairman Mao Zedong in Hunan"]

[Text] Since the decade of the 1980's, Hunan has been one of the cradles of China's revolutionary activities. Chairman Mao Zedong spent his childhood and school days there and became involved in early revolutionary activities.

In 1893 Mao Zedong was born in Shaoshan which is 100 kilometers from Changsha. It is a beautiful mountain village surrounded by hills. On the mountain side the pines and firs are luxuriant and below, the fields are connected by crisscrossing footpaths. The babbling brooks twist and turn on their way. Legend has it that in days of remote antiquity when the southern patrol of Emperor Shun arrived at the prominent peak of Shaoshan and stood facing the gorgeous mountain vista they played the haunting and elegant Shao music. This then was the origin of the name for Shaoshan. At present, although there are roads and railroads that pass through this area, it has not affected the tranquility of the mountain village. The exhibition hall of Chairman Mao's former residence, the tourist restaurant, guesthouse and the other buildings that have retained a rural style all blend in with the old farm houses.

Reading Widely and Eagerly

By his early youth Mao Zedong was already participating in all kinds of physical labor in the fields. Nowadays the farm tools that he used are still displayed in his former home. However, he liked reading even better and during his youth was influenced by the reform party of that period and began to take an interest in national affairs.

In the spring of 1911, due to his thirst for new knowledge, Mao Zedong came to Changsha and threw himself into the anti-Manchu revolutionary activities. He expressed his political views on the wall newspapers of the school and cut off his queue. As soon as the revolution of 1911 broke out he joined the revolutionary army and served for half a year. In the spring of the following year he studied independently at the provincial library, reading widely and eagerly. During this period his thinking was greatly influenced by "Evolution and Ethics," which had been translated by Yan Fu.

In 1913 Mao Zedong was accepted at Hunan First Normal School, with free tuition and board, and graduated in 1918. From the fall of 1920 to the winter of 1921 he took the position as the head of the primary school annex of the First Normal School and as literature teacher in the Ministry of Normal Schools. Today this school has been rebuilt according to its original appearance. On display are Mao Zedong's handwriting, the books that he read and other memorabilia of those years. (In 1952 when I was writing the book "Mao Zedong Zaoqi Geming Huodong" ["The Early Revolutionary Activities of Mao Zedong"], I was once in the home of Kong Zhaoshou [1313 2507 4849] and gathered together Mao Zedong's handwritten "Xueyouhui Jishilu" ["Minutes of the Meeting of the Student Association"] and "Yuexue Riji" ["Night School Journal"] etc.) You can still see the well where he took cold baths throughout the year. The hut where he and his friends met and slept out has also been restored to its original appearance. While Mao Zedong was studying at the First Normal School, tangled warfare among northern and southern warlords was just breaking out and it was the eve of the May Fourth Movement. It was at this time that the New Cultural Movement in which the whole nation rose up to oppose feudalism had a strong impact on this remote mountainous region of Hunan. At school he encountered teachers with democratic or patriotic ideologies and he associated with a group of friends who had common goals. They supported the "three unmentionables": money, household affairs and personal relationships. Instead people should devote themselves to learning and saving the country. Mao Zedong was particularly diligent and persevering in his studies. He was not limited by the classroom, he enjoyed doing research on history and philosophy. Everyday he meticulously perused the newspaper. He read widely about each new ideological trend. He was an enthusiastic reader and contributor to XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] which was edited by Chen Duxiu. He was able to think all problems through independently and he never followed blindly. His teacher Yang Changji became his good friend despite their age difference. He and his friends often went to his teacher's house to discuss knotty problems. He liked to write reading notes and keep a journal, he also was in the habit of writing commentaries in books. We discovered the remains of a valuable fragment. In the work "Lunlixue Yuanli" [Principles of Ethics], a work by a German dualist philosopher which was used by Yang Changji for lecturing, he had written a 12,000 character commentary. Thus, we can catch a glimpse of the level of dialectical ideology of this amazing young student.

Organizing the New People's Study Society and Editing the XIANGJIANG PINGLUN [XIANG RIVER REVIEW]

At school Mao Zedong was still engaged in a series of social activities. He opposed Yuan Shikai proclaiming himself emperor, and he led the whole school in the capture of the weapons of the scattered troops of the northern army. He took on the work of leading the Student Association and directing the worker's night school. During his summer vacation he and his friends roamed throughout the counties around Lake Dongting to gain an understanding of the conditions of the people in society.... He did not approve of excessive study and advocated: "Follow all things under heaven and study them." During the first schoolwide student election in which "people elected each other" Mao received the most votes. Moral conduct, diligent study, courage, insight, talent and oratorical skill were considered the essential factors. He was the publicly recognized

leader of his classmates. In the YISHI XIAOZHI [RECORD OF THE FIRST NORMAL SCHOOL] of that year, this event was recorded in detail.

In order to pursue the truth and seek and means of saving the country he underwent a long period of deliberation. In April of 1918, under the initiative of Mao Zedong and his friends Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], He Shuheng [0149 0647 5899] etc, progressive organization, the "New People's Study Society" was founded. The inaugural meeting of the Study Society was held in the Cai home in Yuelushan. Yuelushan is a well-known scenic area of Changsha and Hunan. Gazing beyond the river you can see "the green mountain peaks unfold, like beautiful carved jade." Upon scaling the mountaintop you deeply feel the imposing manner: "the clouds from the southwest floating across the mountain peak, night and day the sound of the river cascading into Dongting." Not only are there many historic sites on the mountain, but the burial ground of the pioneers of the revolution of 1911, Huang Xing, Cai E, Yu Zhimo et al., is also located there. The brave and outstanding achievements of the earlier revolutionaries caused the socially conscious intellectuals and patriotic youth to feel moved, and it aroused their will to fight. Mao Zedong and his friends often went to Yuelushan and the islets in the Xiang River to meet and swim. He and Cai Hesen still liked to sleep outside in the love-the-evening hut. The hut was built in Qingfeng forge of Yuelushan. It got its name from the line by the late Tang poet Du Mu, "I stop my cart, I love to rest among the maple trees in the evening, the autumn maple leaves are redder than the flowers of February." Prior to the founding of the CCP, the New People's Study Society was the leading core of the Hunan revolutionary movement. There were 70 to 80 members. The first event conducted by the Study Society was to organize society members and Hunan youth to go to France on a work-study program. The first time Mao Zedong came to Beijing and got to know Li Dazhao was on behalf of this program. He did not go abroad but remained in Hunan to direct the work of the society. After the May Fourth Movement broke out, he became the leader of the Hunan student movement and of the organization for saving the country. He edited the very influential weekly of that period, THE XIANG RIVER REVIEW, a publication of the United Students Association of the province. He published the well-known long essay "The Great Alliance of the People." The May Fourth Movement in Hunan developed into an expel-Zhang movement--a movement to expel the dujun, the northern warlord of Hunan, Zhang Jingyao [1728 2417 1031]. Mao Zedong assumed the position of chief representative of the Hunan expel-Zhang delegation in Beijing.

Leading His People on the Road of Revolution

In June of 1920, after Zhang Jingyao was ousted from Hunan, Mao Zedong immediately returned to Changsha. He made use of a good opportunity to launch the Hunan Self-Government Movement (a fight for democracy) and the New Culture Movement. He established the Culture Bookstore, organized the Russian Research Society and propagated Marxism. During his busy social activities he began to set up the Hunan branch of the Socialist Youth Corps, he was the executive committee secretary of the Changsha corps. He attended the First National Congress of the CCP. In October 1921 he established the Hunan party committee and assumed the post of secretary and at the same time he became the director of the Hunan branch of the Secretariat of the China Labor Federation. From this point on the

revolutionary activities of Hunan entered a brand new phase. Mao Zedong made an all out effort to launch a Hunan labor movement.

The organ of the provincial CCP committee was established at 22 Qingshuitang. Mao Zedong rented this house with some teachers. By this time he had already married Yang Changji's beloved daughter, Yang Kaihui. She was his capable assistant. At that time, this was a remote place on the outskirts of town, a pond and vegetable farm were nearby. Today, a grand museum has been built beside this house. In the museum the pictures and relics of the early revolutionary activities of Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms are displayed.

While leading the labor movement, Mao Zedong established a self-education college in Hunan and added on a school for supplementary study. In all, over 200 people studied theory of revolution and cultural knowledge there. The school was located at the Chuanshan Society (a place for academic discourse established in memory of the 17th century patriot Wang Chuanshan.) At present this site still retains its original appearance for visitors.

In the spring of 1923 the Hunan warlord Zhao Hengti [6392 1854 1912] ordered the arrest of the Mao Zedong. The party Central Committee promptly transferred him to work in Shanghai.

In the spring of 1925 Mao Zedong returned home to recover his health. He established in his native home the earliest, staunchest CCP branch--the CCP Shaoshan branch. He encouraged the development of the Hunan revolutionary movement. He also led his entire family on the road to revolution. In the exhibition hall you can see the revolutionary deeds of the six martyrs in his family. The early revolutionary activities of Mao Zedong in Hunan made a significant contribution to the birth of the CCP and to the training of the party's earliest nucleus. He also made preparations in organizing for the flourishing development of the peasant movement of the first revolutionary civil war.

[Editor's note: The author Li Rui, vice minister of the PRC Ministry of Power Industries. He formerly held the post of minister of the Hunan Provincial CCP Propaganda Department. Among his works are ["The Early Revolutionary Activities of Mao Zedong"], the anthologies "Long Dan Zi Ji" ["Gentian Violet Collection"] and "Yaodong Zashu" ["Miscellaneous Writings in a Cave Dwelling"] as well as the work "Lun Heliu Guihau Yu Shuili Fadian" ["On River Planning and Hydropower Generation"] etc.

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PARTY AND STATE

NANKAI UNIVERSITY POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL WORK BEING STRENGTHENED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] The important statements recently made by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang on the problems of the ideological front are of great significance as a guiding force not only in the ideological front alone, but also in strengthening and improving political ideological work on all fronts as well. If we were to examine our work in the spirit of the Central Committee of the CCP, we would discover how far we have lagged behind. We are determined to do a good job in going about our political ideological work in the spirit of the Central Committee of the CCP. First of all, we must be prepared to come to grips with problems and to be firm instead of weak. Secondly, we must learn to deal with problems instead of exercising brute force and creating a big fuss. In going about our work, we must reinforce and further develop stability and unity. We would like to present some of our views.

Exaltation of Old Tradition of Continuance and Renewal of Political Ideological Work

As a result of the 10-year period of domestic turmoil and the inroads of capitalist ideology, Nankai University was the scene of disturbances on three separate occasions.

The first occasion was in the latter part of 1979. Some student organizations put out a publication which propounded misguided views which ran counter to the four basic principles. On the second occasion in the autumn of 1980, some students put up big character posters in the students' first dining hall. The third occasion, in January this year, was set off when seven young men with bad reputations injured 2 students in the physics department and again big character posters appeared on the campus. The mistaken views expressed in the big character posters on the second and third occasions also indicated that some students were under the dire influence of those advocating opposition to the party leadership and the socialist line and of the liberalization trend set by the capitalist class.

Although the number of people directly involved in the three incidents was small, the effect was considerable. We were instantly put on the alert. Unless the situation was properly handled, it was entirely possible that it would lead to

further opposition within the university and to undesirable repercussions in Tianjin. We might even be dragged into the quagmire of disturbances by anti-party and anti-socialist elements in society. The consequences would be extremely grave if we were to dismiss the matter in a cavalier manner.

The three disturbances have presented our leaders at various levels with the new task of strengthening the work of political ideology under the new circumstances. We have done the following in the actual process of working out a solution during the past two years or so.

(1) Heightened the awareness on the part of cadres and especially leadership cadres of the importance of political and ideological work. In the past two years, we have on two separate occasions convened conferences on political ideological work in the university at which leadership cadres at various levels as well as political cadres were made to understand the importance of political ideological work and to realize, from the historical point of view, that our party has always adhered to the principle of providing leadership in the area of thought. This is a glorious tradition of the party. At present, we must strengthen political ideological work and unify the thinking of large numbers of cadres and the masses in order to ensure the smooth progress of economic readjustment and to consolidate, stabilize and unify the political situation. From the long point of view, it must be realized that the strengthening of political and ideological work, far from being a matter of expediency, is vital to the accomplishment of the historical mission of establishing a spiritual civilization of a high order in the socialist mold as well as to the survival of the party and nation.

(2) Strengthened political and ideological work through the proper division of labor between the party and the government. In the past, because the problem of the division of labor between the party and the government had not been properly dealt with, members of the party committee were often saddled with matters of an administrative nature, with the result that they were unable to attend to problems relating to political ideological work in an expeditious manner. In order to correct the situation, we have taken gradual steps to strengthen and to put in good order the ranks of party and government leaders at various levels and to develop a clear-cut system for the division of labor and responsibilities. This has resulted in putting an end to the practice of placing on the laps of political organizations problems which should be handled administratively, in freeing members of the party committee from a myriad of pressing problems of an ordinary administrative nature, and in enabling them to exercise their leadership in political ideological work more effectively.

(3) Making full use of political workers and the rank and file of the political staff in enhancing the long-standing tradition of constant use and constant renewal in political work. The rank and file engaged in political work at our university, having undergone a long period of training by the party, are of a relatively high caliber. However, certain problems remain, chief among which are the shortage of personnel, the problem of morale, and the lack of dedication to the work as a career. In order to further activate the positive attitude of the rank and file, we must, aside from gradually finding a solution to certain

practical problems, intensify our political work on the political workers, insist that they place the interests of the country above their own and share the burden of the party, that they give a higher priority to the performance of difficult tasks than to their private pleasures and that they revivify their spirit in the performance of their duties. At a conference convened not long ago at the university, those attending the conference, in reviewing the excellent tradition of the political work of the party from their own point of view, summed up the 10 long-standing traditions of constant use and constant renewal as follows: To investigate and to engage in research, to be realistic, to refrain from indulging in falsehoods, to be honest and above-board, to treat people on an equal basis and to refrain from considering oneself as an educator; to set a personal example, to refrain from actions which belie one's words, and to stop indulging in evil and malevolent practices; to deal with problems and people on their merits and to use the right key for the right lock rather than insisting on the same solution to every problem; to make people see the light by exposing them to reason, to persuade people by appealing to their feelings, to face facts as they are, to stick to reason, to educate by persuasion, to refrain from using brute force, to avoid using methods of oppression, to nip troubles in the bud and to prevent problems from accumulating; to resort to gentle persuasion, to prevail through persistence, to refrain from expecting to achieve something on the first attempt; to avoid inconsistency in our work and to be tenacious in attempting to reach a goal; to show concern for the suffering of the masses and, at the same time, to be aware of the difficulties facing the nation; to resort to praise where it is due and to avoid resorting lightly to criticism and meting out punishment indiscriminately; to have an open mind and to refrain from attacks, to refrain from name-calling, fault-finding and pushing people against the wall; to make full use of one's experience, to exhaust the ramifications of the law, and to avoid subjectivism and arbitrariness. It was agreed that the old tradition of constant use and constant renewal should continue to be enhanced and preserved.

(4) Making full use of the party branch as a combat bastion and party members as role models in order to carry the work of political ideology down to the basic levels. In dealing with the senior classes in the arts faculty which were comparatively susceptible to the influence of misguided ideologies, we paid special attention to the role which could be played by student party organizations and other student bodies. A small number of students in the class of [year of matriculation] '77 in the history department were susceptible in various degrees to the influence of mistaken ideological trends in society. At one time, there was much confusion in their thinking. As a result of the unremitting concern shown them by party organizations and other bodies in the university and the departments and of the efforts made by class communist organizations and other bodies as well as class cadres, there was a gradual but noticeable change in the thinking on the part of the overwhelming majority of the students. During winter and summer vacations, they organized the students to make surveys of workers and peasants. It was a most educational experience. They also convened carefully prepared discussion meetings on actual ideological problems. The free exchange of views among the students brought excellent results. There were 76 students in the class of 77 in the Chinese department. In the past two years, the students' party branch of the class resorted to various means to engage in

political ideological work in a positive manner with the result that the situation took a decided turn for the better for this year's students and there was a general improvement in their studies. In 1979, when ideological confusion on the part of the students was at its height, 23 members of the class submitted applications for party membership.

Doing a Good Job in Making surveys, in Doing Research and in Providing Guidance in a Positive Manner

How should we go about continuing to improve upon our political ideological work so as to achieve even better results? In our opinion, it is imperative that we should do a good job of research of our surveys so that we may have a proper plan of action. In the latter part of 1979, the activities engaged in by student bodies created strong reactions within the university. There was a great divergence of views in general as regards these students. On that occasion, we discovered, through research of our findings, that several dozen of the students active in student bodies were by no means unanimous in their aims and motives. Some of them, relatively susceptible to the influence of anarchism and the liberal trend espoused by ultra-democratic elements and the capitalist class, were strongly biased in their opinions. Some were interested in promoting academic research activities in their special fields and in examining certain existing problems. Some were bent on creating a sensation in the political arena and still others, overcome by curiosity and the desire to ride the crest, became active in such organizations in a haphazard manner. In dealing with the few students who labored under seriously mistaken views and emotional biases, it was necessary that we made an overall analysis of the historical background. While recognizing their ill-guided tendency to free themselves from party leadership and to depart from the socialist line, we must also realize that their problem stemmed basically from the problem of the ideological climate prevailing among the people. They are, after all, young in age. The university has, in the first place, the unquestionable obligation to exercise the greatest patience in educating them. Most of them are expected to remain in the university for several years. We have the obligation and the confidence to help them overcome the error of their way of thinking. It is not only necessary, but also possible, that we stick to our educational policy.

Apart from that, we also feel that in order to do our political ideological work properly, we should raise our banner up high and provide guidance in a positive manner. On the day of its inauguration, a student body expressed the hope that the responsible cadres in the university would find it possible to attend the meeting. The communist committee gave the matter a great deal of thought. On the one hand, to participate in the meeting might give some comrades the mistaken impression that the student body had the support of the communist committee and that the mistaken views on the part of the students even had its blessings. On the other hand, failure to attend the meeting would mean failure to maintain close contact with the students, to size up the situation at first hand, to make a correct assessment of the situation, and to take the proper action in good time. For that reason, we decided that it would be better to attend the meeting. At the meeting, we heard the students' views with our own ears and we came to understand their positions and their mental attitudes. We discovered that some students were laboring under serious errors in their understanding of Marxism,

something which merited a high degree of alertness. However, it was felt that it would make it more difficult to solve the problem if we were to censure them on the spot, as it would immediately stir up more opposition. However, failure on our part to make clear our stand and to indicate in an unmistakable manner our irrevocable support of the four basic principles would also lead to undesirable consequences. That being the case, we decided to make a statement at the meeting aimed at redirecting the channel of their thinking by making clear, on the basis of our actual experience in participating in the revolution over the last few decades, that Marxism represented the scientific truth. From the reaction of the students at the conclusion of the meeting, it was evident that our method of confronting the situation by redirecting the channel of their thinking was met with considerable success. The majority of the students came to realize that all the activities undertaken by the various student bodies must take their guidance from Marxism. A small number of students, after some dispassionate soul searching, gradually came to realize the error of their ways. A foundation was thus laid for carrying our work of redirecting the channel of thought on the part of the students a step further.

Searching for Ways to Do Good Political Ideological Work in the New Historical Context

We have learned that the satisfactory solution of this problem would not only eliminate the mistaken notions entertained by the students regarding the four basic principles and thus help preserve stability and unity, but also help us in finding a way to go about our political ideological work in the context of a new historical era. We have put the solution of such problems on the agenda of the party committee and have called a number of meetings to unify our ideological understanding, to coordinate our course of action, to urge party, corps and political cadres to go among the students, and to establish person-to-person contact in their effort to redirect their channel of thought patiently and in an exhaustive manner. We have convened a number of discussion meetings with the students concerned to listen to their views and to explain to them the relationship between emancipating the mind and strict adherence to the four basic principles. At the same time, we also organized study groups to enable them to achieve a better understanding of various theories and to distinguish between what was right and what was wrong. The students were quite moved by the fact that, far from discriminating against them and resorting to high-handed measures, the party committee was passionately dedicated to their education. Many of the students became more aware of the fact that the line, the principles and the policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP enjoyed the hearty support of the people, that the direction had been established for the construction of a modern China, and that further explorations for "new avenues" would, instead of serving any useful purpose, be certain to disrupt the present stable and unified political situation. They also came to realize that, insofar as academic research activities were concerned, there was no necessity for the existence of organizations which overstepped the boundaries of the departments and the various courses. The majority of the students stopped taking part in such activities of their own volition.

In January this year, the incident in which two students were injured in a fracas led to the reappearance of big character posters on the campus. Certain individuals took advantage of the situation to revive the liberalization trend and to incite riots. To handle this situation, the party committee of the university decided to take the following courses of action: to deal promptly and severely with the miscreants while calming the hostile feelings on the part of the public with the cooperation of the defense, political and legal authorities of the city. The responsible comrades at the university personally took the situation in hand. listened to daily reports by the concerned parties and the responsible people in the various departments, analyzed the situation, talked directly to the entire student body of the university over the public address system, kept the students informed of the action taken by the university, and urged the large number of students to preserve stability and unity; through the student organizations of the university and the departments, we kept the entire student body informed of the action taken to handle the situation, arranged for party, corps and political cadres to go among the students and to exercise patience in the work of persuasion; Zhou Siyong [0719 1835 8673], secretary of the chief branch of the corps in the history department, went to the students' dormitory and, after a discussion lasting over six hours, finally convinced the student responsible for putting up small character posters replete with serious mistakes of the error of his ways, so much so that the student took the initiative in tearing up the small character posters he had put up and to replace them with a "Let it be known" small character poster in which he publicly admitted his errors. This "Let it be known" small character poster spelled the end of the big character posters upheaval. Since then, no more big character or small character posters have been put up.

In teaching the students the four basic principles and in convincing the misguided students of the error of their ways, it was absolutely necessary to make full use of the role played by the political and special courses teachers. Before going to the classroom, some teachers in the teaching and research section of modern Chinese history of the history department took note of the vague ideas and mistaken views entertained by the students and, in the course of their teaching, dealt with ideological problems on the basis of actual facts and finally convinced the students who had entertained false notions of their errors. Some students even took the initiative to discuss with their teachers how they had undergone a change of mind. In talking with the students in and out of the classroom on the subject of student organizations, some teachers, in citing the time frame, the purpose and the necessity for thought guidance in the setting up of organizations favored by Comrade Zhou Enlai at the time of the May Fourth Movement, greatly enlightened the students by pointing out the basic differences in the historical conditions between the old China and the new China, by explaining to them why the duty of the younger generation at the present time lay in adhering strictly to the four basic principles, and by giving reasons why they should refrain from engaging in such activities which had the purpose of overthrowing the old order.

Furthermore, we took note of the need to offer the students the opportunity to speak their minds, to exercise correct leadership in providing the students a venue for unburdening their thoughts and their academic positions and to channel

their inquiries into various theories and the existing problems along the Marxist line and in keeping with the thoughts of Mao Zedong.

To offer encouragement and guidance to the students in the arts faculty to engage in spare-time academic research and writing activities closely related to their special studies, the school publication, since the latter part of 1979, had put out four supplements on literature, history, philosophy and economics to offer the students the opportunity to air their academic ideas, their research findings and their literary works. It also carried two opinion columns on "Should students confine themselves to their studies?" and "Should young people promote communist ideals?" The two subjects for discussion caught the imagination of the entire student body and became at one time the topic of after-school conversation. Out of over 100 contributions submitted, over 30 which most represented the opposing points of view were published.

In the latter part of last year, the school publication also initiated a discussion on the special topic of "Should college students in this new era glorify the spirit of the 'screw' espoused by Lei Feng?" Over 30 articles were submitted by the students who, incidentally, benefited greatly from this process of self-education.

Since the university celebrations in October, 1979, two events have been held for the students of the departments and the entire university for the exchange of their research findings. Over 200 dissertations and literary works were submitted on each of the two occasions, and over 40 were selected and favorably cited. Many of these selected contributions have been published in newspapers and magazines throughout the nation. All those who were involved in the setting up of student organizations became active participants in spare-time academic research activities. In last year's May Fourth academic dissertation competition, 5 out of 40 selected contributions were written by those responsible for setting up student organizations. The activities of the third student academic research exchange competition held in May this year far surpassed those of the two previous occasions. A total of 547 essays and literary works were submitted. These activities enjoyed the support of large numbers of students and created an increasingly favorable atmosphere for the pursuit of spare-time academic research.

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CSO: 4005/70

PARTY AND STATE

THOSE WHO WOULD SUPPRESS HEALTHY CRITICISM ARE DENOUNCED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by HEILONGJIANG RIBAO Commentator: "Retaliatory Blows Must Be Banned"]

[Text] Comrade Song Xiulan [1345 4423 5695] has been commended for defending financial and economic discipline and for her fortitude in carrying out the struggle, while Zhang Fengming [1728 7685 7686] and his accomplices have been punished for suppressing and taking retaliatory action against their critic. This case tells us once again that in our socialist country, justice will always prevail over unhealthy tendencies.

Although today it cannot be said that wrongdoers like Zhang Fengming, who hates to have others criticize his mistakes and would like to take retaliatory action against anyone who criticizes him, are not a common sight in our country, his misconduct is certainly not an isolated case. Although some people appear undisturbed in the face of criticism, they often want to keep their pent-up feelings bottled up in their chests, answering their critics by taking measures to remove them from their original positions of trust and importance and by spreading rumors about them. Or else they can use their power to transfer these [critics] out of their present offices and into hardship posts. Some even act like the tyrants of small independent kingdoms, openly and unscrupulously giving their critics a hard time. Some higher level authorities have adopted an irresponsible, bureaucratic attitude toward such cases. Their failure to keep themselves informed about the violations of laws and discipline by their subordinates and their ignorance of the struggle waged by the masses to expose wrongdoings have intentionally and unintentionally helped the growth of such negative factors. Stress must be laid on solving this problem during the current rectification of the party's style of work.

The Party Central Committee has earnestly warned us that the workstyle of the party in power vitally affects its very existence. This is why we must strive to criticize and overcome unhealthy tendencies. Comrade Song Xiulan has set a good example in the direction of combating and overcoming unhealthy tendencies. She has displayed courage in exposing violations of financial and economic discipline by her own unit. For this action, she received one retaliatory blow after another. She spent 3 years struggling against this unhealthy tendency until the mistakes were corrected. We do need this type of determination in the struggle to rectify the party's style of work and social ills and to resist the tendency to violate laws and discipline--a determination to be dedicated to the upholding of principles. This type of deter-

mined characteristic of unyielding faith and courage is also required to carry out many other aspects of the four modernizations program.

It is gratifying to note that comrades of the Song Xiulan type now can be increasingly found in all trades and professions. Since unhealthy tendencies bear a striking resemblance to the "three-foot-thick ice sheets which take more than a day to form," to melt them is a process which cannot be completed in a short time. Please compare our current unhealthy tendencies with those of a few years ago. As a result of this comparison, do you find them taking a turn for the worse or for the better? Are the cases of violation of laws and discipline on the decline or on the rise? Do you find the related discipline, laws, and regulations proclaimed by our party and government looser or stiffer? A conscientious comparison will lead us easily to find that the stricter legal system instituted by the party and government has led to a decrease in the number of cases of lawbreakers and scandals and to improvements in the party's style of work and social lifestyle. Particularly noteworthy are the steady healthy development of democratic life in the ranks of our party and country and the strengthening of the inspection of discipline and supervision of work, which provide a powerful guarantee for the rectification of unhealthy tendencies. We must be encouraged by this development, which can boost our confidence in the struggle. It is certainly unavoidable that one may suffer occasional frustrations during the struggle against unhealthy tendencies. But those honest party members and countrymen who are dedicated to principles will sooner or later be rewarded, while those interested in enhancing unhealthy tendencies will end up being losers.

To overcome unhealthy tendencies, we must resolutely stop the suppression of criticism and prevent people from taking retaliatory action against their critics. Leading organs and commissions for inspection of discipline at all levels must conscientiously handle letters and visits from the masses, and must warmly support and encourage the masses to combat unhealthy tendencies. Timely steps must be taken to investigate and deal with those who are bent on suppressing criticism and on taking retaliatory action against their critics. These two counts of crime should be handled simultaneously. Otherwise, the enthusiasm of the masses inside and outside the party will be adversely affected. Dependence on the masses is a magic weapon for us to use in carrying on the revolution and construction. It will prove more valid in rectifying all unhealthy tendencies.

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PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG CPPCC COMMITTEE: REUNITE TAIWAN PEACEFULLY

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of CPPCC Meets in Harbin"]

[Text] The 14th standing committee of the Fourth Session of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the CPPCC concluded its enlarged session on 23 October, following 5 days of discussion.

The main purpose of this session was to study and implement Chairman Ye's speech, delivered on the eve of the 32d anniversary of the founding of the PRC, on the return of Taiwan to the motherland and on their peaceful reunification; Chairman Hu Yaobang's speech at the Beijing rally in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution; and the guidelines of the related instructions of the Central Committee. During the session, the members of the standing committee and patriots from all walks of life warmly discussed important matters concerning the great cause of the reunification of the motherland with a high sense of political responsibility, expressing wholehearted support for the policy of returning and unifying Taiwan with the motherland by peaceful means--a policy which has been further reaffirmed by Chairman Ye. They maintained that the speeches by Chairman Ye and Chairman Hu Yaobang represent the common aspirations of the entire party, the entire army, and the people throughout the country as well as the common wishes and fundamental interests of the Chinese people, including those in Taiwan. As a result of their study, they have increased their understanding of the vital significance of the great cause for the realization of the reunification of the motherland, and of the nine-point policy, and this has enabled them to come up with some positive suggestions on how to carry it out.

The enlarged session of the 14th standing committee of the Fourth Session of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the CPPCC adopted a "resolution on the study and implementation of the policy of returning Taiwan to the motherland and of unifying Taiwan with the motherland by peaceful means, as proposed by Chairman Ye Jianying." The resolution calls on the members of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the CPPCC, its branches at all other levels, various democratic parties, mass organizations, patriots from all walks of life, and compatriots of Taiwan origin in our province to convey the nine-point policy and the great achievements of the motherland through various channels to people from all walks of life in Taiwan. The resolution also calls on them to help party committees at all levels and the government implement relevant policies, and to mobilize positive factors in all

sectors in order to make contributions to the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

Wang Yilun [3769 0001 0243], secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial Party Committee and chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the CPPCC, presided over and spoke at the session. Jin Langbai [6855 3186 4101], vice chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPPCC Committee, delivered a report to the session concerning the current situation with regard to Taiwan and the excellent situation resulting from the development of our work on Taiwan. Zhang Ruilin [1728 3843 7792], vice chairman of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the CPPCC, concluded the session with a speech.

In addition to the members of the Standing Committee of the Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the CPPCC, the session was attended by 95 representatives of the National People's Congress, the National Committee of the CPPCC, compatriots of Taiwan origin, those whose relatives and family members are now in Taiwan, returned overseas Chinese, and families of overseas Chinese residents.

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF GRADUAL, COLLECTIVE EFFORT STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Li Xin [2621 2946]: "The Foolish Old Man and the Wise Old Man"]

[Text] During this present period of readjustment, when the problems and difficulties we face are like mountains, and there are all kinds of attitudes for dealing with them, what most needs to be promoted at present is the self-reliant attitude of beginning with ourselves in setting about working in an arduous and down-to-earth manner.

Among famous ancient stories, the attitudes adopted by the stupid old man and the wise old man in "Dwelling right before a mountain, near a pass on the mountain's north slope, with a tortuous way going in and out," were quite different, and it was precisely in this regard that the difference between them lay. The stupid old man planned to lick the problem by increasing his establishment, dispelling doubt by disputing about the tortuousness of the path, leading his children, grandchildren, friends, and neighbors, to beat away the stones and clear away the earth, carry it all away in dustpans, and transport it to the inlet of the Bo Hai. Though people said that leveling the mountain and clearing a path could not possibly be realized with the strength of one person or one generation, nevertheless, the "stupid diligence" for "exhausting his strength to subdue the danger" for which the wise old man ridiculed the stupid old man, is still the real merit and ability needed to remake the world for the sake of the happiness of society. And the wise old man's feeling that he was right, and speaking empty words without doing anything at all, was actually nothing more than "petty cleverness" that was of no use either to himself or to anyone else.

At any time, empty words are useless, and in the formidable enterprise of building socialism even more so. Looking at it from the area of theoretical research, whoever is afraid of expending time will be without the means of finding the truth. From the point of view of our experience in revolution and in building socialism, whoever is afraid of contradictions and setbacks, whoever is afraid of difficulty and sacrifice, is not capable of changing heaven and earth for the motherland, accomplishing things for the sake of the happiness of the people, or bringing about benefits and eliminating evils, for the sake of society. Remaking and rebuilding society, and causing it to advance to the new historical level, is a great enterprise; and, if we want to accomplish a great enterprise, then we must

begin with small things, and work with our feet on firm ground. What is work? Work is solving contradictions; it is overcoming difficulties; it is rectifying what is incorrect and upholding what is correct. It is, little by little, engaging in the remaking of the world, including ourselves. Lenin said "In such a totally new, great, and arduous enterprise, shortcomings, mistakes, and failures are unavoidable. Whoever fears the difficulties of building socialism, whoever is intimidated by these problems, or whoever, seeing these problems, becomes pessimistic or so alarmed that he doesn't know what to do, is no socialist." Regarding serious trials affecting the fate of a people, the rise or fall of a nation, and the prosperity or decline of a society (such as war, all kinds of historical crises, and all kinds of disasters and transformations in people's lives), Lenin considered that these were capable of making people dull, or even completely abnormal, but that at the same time they would cause some people to become educated and tempered. The number and strength of those who had been educated and tempered by those experiences would be even larger than those abnormal people who, after being bitten by a snake, fear the well-rope for 10 years.

The view of Marxist-Leninist toward any problem, be it large as a mountain or deep as the sea, is that difficulties occurring within a particular historical society can all be solved by the people within that historical society, provided they expend the required effort. The foolish old man trying to move away a mountain, and the jingwei bird trying to fill up the sea with stones, are merely fabulous mythology expressing the belief of the Chinese people that man can conquer nature. The people of a socialist society already have scientific viewpoints and methods which they can use to analyze contradictions, analyze difficulties, overcome difficulties and dangers, and solve problems. We are revolutionary optimists. Our contempt for difficulties in strategy, and our respect for difficulties in actual tactics, are combined into a unified whole. Our confidence in being victorious over difficulties is not only founded upon scientific socialist ideals but, moreover, is founded upon arduous, struggle-filled revolutionary practice; it is not only founded upon the work of mobilizing and organizing the masses, but also upon the great effort of beginning with ourselves by taking the lead in putting things into effect.

Under the new historical conditions, it is necessary for each individual to have undergone education and tempering; every individual's life, work, and ideology also need correct viewpoints and methods to guide them. These various needs are all concentrated into one point which is that in the new historic period the various nationalities of our country definitely must persevere in the socialist path that is pointed out to them by the Chinese Communist Party, preserve our lofty revolutionary ideals and a vigorous revolutionary will to struggle, employ real, down-to-earth effort to open up a new path at each step forward, and "exhaust themselves to overcome the difficulties." Those "wise old men" of the new period who, on meeting with difficulties, are not willing to "beat away stones and clear away earth;" but are merely greedy for what is convenient, or to enjoy what is already completed, do not accomplish anything themselves, yet still want to scorn coldly those hard workers who are brave in opening up new paths; and who are in favor of "moving house" or "taking the round-about way" are actually only people who, voluble in their indiscreet criticism, are unable to accomplish anything but likely to spoil everything. We must also employ the spirit of climbing to the highest peak of Tai Shan, of overcoming the 18 tortuous paths and climbing Nantianmen or reaching the top of Jade Emperor Mountain, and bring the great socialist revolution and the

enterprise of building socialism to their fullest fruition. This, of course, is not merely to "look around and see all the small mountains below," but is accomplishing something great like climbing Tai Shan by working together like a hive of bees. Now that we have embarked upon the new path, it is a question of being brave in overcoming, little by little and step by step, in actual work and beginning right at our own post, all kinds of difficulties large and small, bringing order out of chaos, carrying our revolutionary cause forward into the future and, if we do not achieve our goal, definitely not stopping.

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CSO: 4005/218

PARTY AND STATE

SELF-RELIANCE, CREATIVITY FOR LEADING CADRES URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 81 p 8

[Article by Yang Jilan [2799 7139 1526]: "Ridding Ourselves of 'Walking Sticks'"]

[Text] Walking sticks for the aged, or for invalids, are things that they cannot separate themselves from even for an instant. What we mean here by "walking sticks" is something different: for some leading cadres, secretaries, and drafts for their speeches, have become their "walking sticks." Reports to higher authorities, instructions to those below, work summaries, documents large and small, and even speeches of only a few minutes, all need to be written by secretaries. All he [a bureaucrat] needs to do is to read from the text, or circle, sign, and issue the thing, and it will do. When making preparations for a new organization or unit, it is necessary to send on two or three secretaries in advance to make arrangements. The reason for this is very simple: some leading comrades, as soon as they open their mouths, must have a draft for a speech, and the draft must be written by a secretary; if separated from these "walking sticks," they would not be able to carry on with their work.

On contacting some comrades who perform the duties of a secretary, I found that eight or nine out of ten of them complain continuously. Just a few principles and ideas of these leaders is all that secretaries have to go on in writing a draft for a speech. Relying on abstractions, and then abstracting further from them, how can one come up with a good speech? There are only two methods they can use: one is to copy from books and newspapers copying from here and selecting from there and somehow piece the thing together; the other is to "think naturally," bringing reason and imagination into play. This way, it is hard to avoid having the speech be full of conventional expressions, old-fashioned expressions, empty words, and even lies.

On the subject of not wanting secretaries to take on the work of others, Comrade Mao Zedong and other leaders of the Central Committee have spoken and made criticism many times. However, many comrades have definitely not dealt with the problem conscientiously, so that it is still awaiting solution. If it is a matter of a formal work summary, a speech representing the ideas of the organization, and rather strong on policy, then naturally the draft should be prepared through the combined efforts of both the leader and the secretary. As for individual speeches, we really must be in favor of having the leading comrades take on the work themselves.

From having the secretary do the work for one, to undertaking the task oneself, is a big step forward. From undertaking the work oneself to throwing away all the speech drafts that seem to be needed on absolutely every occasion, is also a big step forward. The DAO DE JING says: "The difficult things in the world must be done as if easy; the large matters of the world must be done with attention to detail." Transforming the ways of leaders must be begun slowly and gradually, beginning with small things. This kind of matter [the writing of drafts by secretaries] at first seems rather trifling, but actually that is definitely not the case. Below the surface there are problems that cannot be overlooked.

One is "laziness." Some people do not understand the situation as a whole, really have no idea what is going on. They are accustomed to giving orders; they move their mouths and not their hands. With the course of time, they become lazy in using their brains. In issuing statements, or in speaking, they do not avail themselves of hard thought. They read from the text, so that even the phrases "continued on the following page" and "continued from preceding page" in the draft are read flawlessly, to a chorus of laughter.

The second is "fear." They deliberate over every word and phrase, and are excessively cautious. Once they set something down, it can later be used to check up on them. They fear only that through some chance they may say the wrong thing. If they say some things that are not too appropriate, then afterwards it can be used against them.

Some comrades say, I don't have a good style; I can't write, or, I'm not good at making speeches; I can't speak well. It seems that if one day they rid themselves of their "walking sticks," they would not be able to stand on their own two feet. Some comrades have the excuse that their cultural level is not high, and so their ability is not sufficient. However, they also cannot remain satisfied with the present situation for a long period, and not make an effort to professionalize themselves. Who ever heard of eloquence or good writing ability that was innate? Isn't it that by writing or speaking often that these skills are developed gradually?

Ridding ourselves of "walking sticks" has many advantages. If one is voluble in one's criticism, merely expressing the feeling that certain principles and ideas will not do, then one is forced to take the initiative oneself to do a little investigation and research and, having mastered the firsthand material, some will hit the mark and be able to guide the work forward. Or one can easily convene a meeting, and if there is a meeting then a long, drawn-out article will not do. This then forces one to pay attention to improving one's working methods--have fewer meetings, have short meetings, speak little and do much, speak briefly, and speak the truth. "One, two, three, four, open a Chinese pharmacy store" will not do either. This, then, forces one to apply oneself to learn from society, learn from the lower echelons, learn from the masses, use the language of the masses, and express the aspirations of the masses.

In the wake of the development of the new situation, ridding ourselves of "walking sticks" is not only necessary, but has also become possible. Leftist influence is in the process of being eliminated. The practice of "expiating one's crimes through

words" has already been discarded. A democratic climate is gradually becoming stronger. If something should be said, there's no harm in coming out and saying it. New problems, new contradictions, and new experiences are appearing in a never-ending succession, so that merely relying on "ghost writers," who divorce oneself from reality and workly blindly, and write beautifully simply will not do. Our enterprise is picking up momentum, goading our comrades to change their style of leadership, overcome lethargy and replace it with vitality, and bring their initiative and creativity into full play.

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CSO: 4005/218

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' CRITICIZES 'NEW PERSONALITY CULT' IN PRC

OW140015 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 12 Nov 81

[Text] As revealed by recent facts, although the ugly personality cult and the movement it brought about during the period of the cultural revolution has been criticized its pernicious influence has not been eliminated, and a new personality cult has come into being. A certain person at the central level nominally is not the highest leader of the party or the state, yet his name is always mentioned ahead of others on all occasions. All important matters concerning the party, government or army require his okay in order to be carried out. Seeing the special prominence given to this person on all occasions, quite a number of people who still have feudal thinking in their minds have begun to revive the practice of the blind personality cult. This state of affairs is having a serious harmful effect on our national construction and on the building of our army.

If a man, especially a state leader, likes to stand out among others and values himself as a person of unusual talent, he would naturally accept the worship from others and even encourage others. Either directly or indirectly, to give him such worship. We need not go back too far to illustrate this. After the gang of four had been smashed, Comrade Hua Guofeng and other leading comrades at the central level continued to practice the personality cult by building the Memorial Hall and publishing the selected works. At the same time, they tried to foster the worship of Comrade Hua Guofeng. It is said that at that time in a letter asking for rehabilitation Comrade Deng Xiaoping called Comrade Hua Guofeng "the wise leader."

Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping took over the great power in the party, government and army he has paid lip service to the need to avoid giving publicity or prominence to individuals. However, the fact is that while there is no more publicity and prominence given to others, he himself has become more and more prominent. This is primarily reflected in his patriarchal style of leadership. Any important matter handled by the party central committee cannot be implemented without Comrade Deng Xiaoping's final concurrence. Appointment of cadres to fill important positions of leadership in the party, government and army is entirely based on their loyalty to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and his line and policies. When receiving foreign guests and on visits to foreign countries he often reveals and thus makes known to the world matters which have yet to be studied and decided upon by the political bureau and even things which are national secrets in order to show his unique position and unparalleled authority in the party.

At the third and sixth plenary sessions of the party, many comrades pointed out that nobody should try to advertise his own role or obliterate others' merits by distorting history and making fabrications. As a matter of fact, however, this spirit was violated in dealing with the questions of the false charges against the former principal leaders of our army, redressing the wrong judgments against Gao Gang and Rao Shushi and assessing Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes and the responsibilities to be undertaken by Comrades Hua Guofeng, Chen Xilian, Ji Dengkui and Wu De. This has given people the impression that in some 30 years since the founding of the PRC Comrade Deng Xiaoping is the only one in our party who has been correct and never made any big mistakes.

All the above cannot but make us feel deeply that there is a serious problem of the existence of remnant feudalism, which is playing a very stubborn and harmful role in the various aspects of social as well as political life.

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PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI MARKS CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC FOUNDING

OW300606 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] The Jiangxi Provincial (?Federation of Philosophy and Social Science Societies) held an academic symposium from 20 to 25 November in Ruijin to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the provisional central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic. Ma Jikong, secretary of the provincial CCP Committee, and (Bai Yongchun), deputy director of the propaganda department of the provincial CCP Committee, delivered speeches at the symposium. Attending the symposium were representatives from the party school, the party history research office and the party historical material collection office under the CCP Central Committee; representatives from party history research units in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Gansu, Hubei, Shaanxi, Fujian, Hunan, Guizhou, Henan, Guangdong, Guangxi and Zhejiang; PLA comrades engaged in teaching and studying the party history; and representatives from various academic societies, prefectural and municipal (?federations of philosophy and social science societies) and revolutionary memorial halls in the province, numbering more than 200 in total.

The founding of the provisional central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic was announced at the first National Soviet Congress held from 7 to 20 November 1931 at Yeping in Ruijin County. During the 50 years since then, an earthshaking change has taken place in our country. The semifeudal, semicolonial old China has been replaced by a socialist new China. The Chinese Soviet Republic has developed into today's People's Republic of China, a country of the democratic dictatorship of the people. Comrades participating in the symposium held that the first front army of the red army and the central revolutionary base area under the direct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and Zhu De played the most important role in the agrarian revolutionary war. They reviewed the glorious history of the Chinese revolution led by our party and pointed out the necessity to use the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in correctly summing up experience and seriously drawing lessons so as to promote and improve the theoretical study on social sciences to serve the needs of socialist modernization.

In the spirit of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and adhering to the principle of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts, the symposium held serious discussions on such questions as the role and importance of the provisional central government of the

Chinese Soviet Republic, the land policy of the central revolutionary base area, its economic construction and the work of building political power, including the institution of the legal system, the election movement and the counterrevolutionary-elimination movement. Also discussed were the cultural and educational work, the glorious party tradition and the fine work style of the Sental Soviet area. With emancipated minds, the participating comrades expressed their views freely, and the symposium was permeated with a lively atmosphere. Some academic papers and revolutionary history materials were also exchanged. It was a fruitful academic symposium.

The participating comrades visited a revolutionary history exhibition concerning the Central Soviet area held by the Ruijin revolutionary memorial hall. They also visited the old site of the provisional central government and other noted places in the revolutionary history. They thus received a very good education in our revolutionary traditions.

CSO: 4005/260

PARTY AND STATE

ZHAO ZIYANG WORK REPORT ON BUILDING CIVILIZATION

OW031031 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0720 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--In his report on government work Premier Zhao Ziyang made explanations on attaching great importance to building socialist spiritual civilization and set specific demands on the people of the whole country.

Premier Zhao Ziyang said: In socialist modernization we should build a high degree of spiritual and material civilization--these are closely related and inseparable. We should build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization, as well as material civilization, in order to insure the lasting development of our national economy and socialist orientation in building material civilization.

Premier Zhao Ziyang said: Spiritual civilization covers a wide range of things. Its main content should include two aspects. One concerns the scale and level of the development of education, science, culture, arts, public health and physical culture, which are the signs of whether a society is civilized or not and to what degree. Every society should develop a spiritual civilization in this aspect to suit its needs, but a socialist system requires that the development of a spiritual civilization in this aspect be more extensive and rapid.

Another aspect concerns the direction and level of the development of the society's political ideology and ethics. These are determined by the society's system and strongly depend on the characteristics of the system.

CSO: 4005/260

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ROLE OF 'RESOLUTION' IN ART, LITERARY WORK REVIEWED

Tianjin XINGANG WENXUEYUEKAN [New Ports] in Chinese, No 9, 81, Sep 81, pp 63-65, 24

[Article by Ma Xianting [7456 3759 1694]: "Between the Past and the Future--A Discussion of the Issues of the 'Resolution' with Friends in Literary Circles"]

[Text] Everyone says that you people in literary circles are always discussing the issues but that outsiders can make neither head nor tail of what you are saying and so dare not interrupt. I don't know why it is, but ever since studying the "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions in Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" I have felt an irrepressible urge to talk over a few things with old friends in literary circles. If you do not object to my use of some layman's language I'd like to have a heart to heart talk with you.

I don't know if you have had the same feeling, but after studying the "Resolution" I often felt that we are now at a great milestone between the past and the future. We have experienced an extremely uncommon past and are facing an even greater future. At this moment the party and the state are at a great turning point. This transition began after the 3rd Party Plenum and the just-concluded 6th Plenum which passed the "Resolution" symbolizes a milestone of this great transition. The "Resolution" is a historical document which makes a scientific summation and exposition of both our tortuous road of the past and of the glorious journey ahead of us. I believe that according to the principle that in all affairs "minor principles are subordinate to major principles" the basic experience and series of fundamental issues explained by the summation in the "Resolution" can and should become an ideological foundation whereby the comrades in literary circles can unify the differences of their understanding of matters. Moreover, the series of great issues summed up and discussed by the "Resolution" actually are the social and historical background for many of the divergences found in literary circles. When it becomes truly difficult for the two disputants to arrive at ideological unity this is not because of some concrete problems in literary circles as such, but rather is a reflection of divergent understandings of the relevant social and historical issues.

Therefore, I feel that while we are at this important moment between the past and the future we ought to use the basic conclusions of the "Resolution" as a common ideological foundation to integrate study of the "Resolution" with a summation of the concrete experiences of literary work and then from the foundation of summing up and utilizing this historical experience go on to unify understanding. Such actions will not only eliminate differences of understanding, more importantly they will benefit the future of literature and the arts. This is the reason why I have sought you out to exchange ideas. How then is study of the "Resolution" to be integrated with the concrete experiences of literary work? I do not have any extensive or all-encompassing thoughts on the matter. My idea is to view this issue from a single perspective, namely: when integrating the "Resolution" with the concrete experiences of literary work what should be our focus of attention? I am certain that you remember the first section of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in which he said, "At this moment we are deeply aware that our party and state are in an important historical period, a period in which we are bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead." This to say that bringing order out of chaos, carrying out our cause and forging ahead are the major historical features of this great age. I believe that our literary workers ought to and must make an effort and expend energy in bringing order out of chaos, carrying out our cause and forging ahead, that they will firmly grasp the principle of uniting theory with practice, that they will use the "arrow" found in the "Resolution's" summation of fundamental historical experience to shoot at the "target" of literary work experience, thus making progress in their study of the "Resolution."

What does it mean to bring order out of chaos? According to the objective laws of things, chaos is explained as the phenomenon which rejects the objective laws and order is explained as the objective laws themselves. To bring order out of chaos means to rectify and to overcome all thoughts and actions which reject the objective laws of things and thus force the developments back on to the path of the objective laws. Ever since the Third Party Plenum, the Party Central has operated under these broad ideological, political and organizational lines to oppose the mistakenguiding ideology and negative results of all opposition to the laws of social development, especially that which occurred during the ten years of chaos in the "Great Cultural Revolution." The Party Central has completely and resolutely brought order out of chaos with reliance on the masses and with profound, mature thought, has basically turned away from mistakenleftist ideology and has implemented a great historical transition.

In the process of this great transition the Party Central countered the leftist leadership errors in literature and the arts by resolutely restoring order from chaos. Moreover, the party Central followed the special laws governing art and literature and heeded the demands of the historical period by broadly expanding the horizons of

development in socialist literature and art and stimulated the enthusiasm and creativity of the broad workers in literature and art, thus bringing to the hundred flowers in the garden of art and literature levels of prosperity unprecedented since the founding of the People's Republic of China. I am sure that all of you, and this includes the majority of comrades in literature and art, have become profoundly aware that when everyone is discussing the situation in art and literature no one can deny the great accomplishments made in these fields. Neither can anyone deny that these great accomplishments are the product of the Third Party Plenum and are the victorious result of its thoroughgoing and resolute restoration of order from chaos. This will become a new historical experience and conversely prove that only with firm resolve to restore order from chaos is there any genuine learning from historical experience to transform such experience into a new force which propels us forward victoriously.

Isn't there an old saying that goes, "The overturned cart ahead warns those behind!" History, no matter what has transgressed, is beyond reversal. But the study of history and the summing up of experience permits one to view the past and helps one to understand the future and to thus know what road to follow. The historical experiences summed up in the "Resolution" show that the mistakes in our work since the founding of the nation, even the long term, serious error of the "Great Cultural Revolution," were primarily the result of the leftist errors in our guiding ideology. Using this to corroborate work in literature and art, we see that the path of literature and art over these 32 years has also been a tortuous one. During the 17 years prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," the guiding ideology in literature and art was basically correct and great accomplishments were made, even though there were leftist errors. In the "Great Cultural Revolution" the counter-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing utilized these to carry out their fascist cultural dictatorship and handed a serious setback to socialist literature and art. Even after the smashing of the "gang of four," the influences of leftist ideology still were a major reason for the continual eruption of problems in our work in literature and art. The facts show that leftism in art and literature has a deep ideological foundation, far reaching historical roots and a long period of continuous existence. The great majority of comrades in art and literature are more or less influenced by this and for some of them it even becomes a perverse force of habit. We must have a very clear understanding of this. During the last two or three years, in the irreversible historical transition initiated by the Third Party Plenum, we have cleaned out or straightened up leftist things in literature and art, but these influences have deep roots and under certain conditions will still rise to the surface. For example, when our work suffers from mistakes or other difficulties, when some rightists or free elements begin to appear in literature and art or in society, when we emphasize protecting the revolutionary banner or traditions and when we make adjustments to major policies in order to make better progress we always find that some new things float to the surface in several areas of literature and art. Whether they are fingers

pointing at the great hall, writings which raise a great clamor, or whispers in the ear they always take advantage of the people's unhealthy "fears of rightism" and quickly exert great influence, sometimes instigating groups into political activity as though there were no one in opposition to them. Of course, because of the existence of the correct party line, each time leftist things have risen to the surface they quite obviously have lacked the strength to "get off the ground." Nonetheless, their influence is felt and they shake the people's confidence in the correct line and policy followed since the Third Plenum and increase the negative "gunshy" reactions of some comrades. We most certainly cannot regard such things lightly.

You may wish to inquire that when we pay attention to leftist things should we also pay attention to other tendencies. I would say yes. In the tide of liberated thought since the Third Plenum, haven't a number of people of different kinds, both good and bad, been thrown together at times? Some people consequently took the four basic principles as the opposite of "ideological liberation," some equated negativist violence with realism, some people broke away from party leadership in art and literature by making a change from ideology to organization and some people pandered to the unhealthy interest and requests of a small minority of readers and viewers. This was obvious to all who could see. With regard to this, we first must reject the path of denial, like the scars on Ah Q's scalp, of forbidding people to speak out and then we must employ the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to carry out this ideological struggle. Criticism is not a club. Whoever feels that to be criticized is like being beaten is entirely wrong. It also is wrong to refrain from using criticism against erroneous tendencies for fear of being accused of using clubs against other people. Workers in art and literature cannot be above criticism. Such people cannot withstand the test of history. All leadership levels in art and literature cannot be weak in issues of principle as the relinquishing of a leadership role does not benefit development of socialist art and literature. The facts demonstrate ever more clearly that if art and literary circles do not resolutely and properly engage in criticism and self-criticism it will then be impossible to sum up new lessons and experience. The result definitely will be new setbacks, even to the extent of going in an opposite direction. The restoration of order from chaos in art in literature also includes opposing these mistaken tendencies and restoring our great tradition of criticism and self-criticism.

I'll just go on a bit about bringing order out of chaos. Historical experience tells us that restoring order from chaos is a long term task and a difficult and detailed process of ideological work. Although the victorious opening of the 6th Party Plenum and the promulgation of the "Resolution" had already announced the completion of the party's historical task of providing ideological guidance for bringing order out of chaos, this, however, is not the equivalent of saying that in terms of actual work, in art and literature for example, there is no further need of restoration of order from chaos. The "Resolution" presents a concentrated reflection of the great

accomplishments in restoring order from chaos since the Third Plenum and at the same time provides us with a powerful spiritual weapon for continuing to restore order from chaos in our own actual work. It should be said that in the restoration of order from chaos much work remains to be done, especially with regard to deeply rooted leftist influences. We must firmly grasp the "Revolution" as a weapon and complete the process of restoring order from chaos!

What is the meaning of the term carry forward the revolutionary cause and forge ahead into the future? The term is self-explanatory and reflects the general rules for the process of developments in our affairs. It also demonstrates the dynamic role of progressive people in promoting the process of developing our affairs. In carrying forward, what is carried forward? The fundamental conclusion of the "Resolution" included the basic experiences for these 32 years and also explains the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought which are found in these basic experiences. These are the things which we are now carrying forward. These also incorporate the crystallization of the experience which socialist art and literature have accumulated over extended periods of practice--Mao Zedong Thought on art and literature. Mao Zedong Thought on art and literature is a structural component of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. The basic concepts include the following: such as the various political and economic theories in any given society which reflect upon art and literature, the policies of letting one hundred flowers bloom and replacing the old with the new in art and literature, the viewpoint concerning the issues of changing the world views of literary workers and of first deciding which people to serve, as well as the concepts that art and literature must be integrated with the times and that they must serve the people, and so on. All of these underwent long-term practical experience and have led China's art and literature to achieve great results. They are directions which must be pursued both now and in the future. Such methods as the excuse that because of the developments over time the historical status and role of Mao Zedong Thought in art and literature should be denied and that its principles should be discarded sever the historical connections and set up an opposition between the past and the present. This can only lead art and literature astray and cannot promote progress in matters of socialist art and literature.

Of course, carrying forward our cause does not mean sticking to conventions or treating historical experience as dogma. To carry forward our cause and to forge ahead into the future are a dialectical unity in the overall process of society's historical development and are an overall process in the development of our socialist art and literature.

History continuously marches on and historical experience also continuously increases and develops. Practice continuously develops and the theories and principles derived from practice and leadership practices also continuously increase and develop. In his speech at the conference celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of

the Chinese Communist Party Comrade Hu Yaobang specially mentioned that, "We must be skilled in promoting the progress of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions." Experiences in art and literary work since the Third Plenum prove that under the new historical conditions only the continual development of Mao Zedong Thought in art and literature can truly grasp and uphold it. Just think, with the shift of the work emphasis in the entire party and the whole nation and the corresponding changes in all aspects in the people's social life how could these changes not be reflected in art and literature and in their guiding ideology! Since the Third Plenum, the series of changes and improvements in art and literature policies made by the party central have been made according to the special features of the new historical period and the new conditions regarding work in art and literature. For example, the phrase literature must serve politics is no longer used; the general slogans serve the people and serve socialism replace the slogans serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve the proletariat; in the areas of thematic and stylistic concerns the old restrictions are discarded and replaced with accurate portrayals of the hundred flowers policy; constant improvements in the leadership of art and literary work stemming from the Central Committee have produced such major documents on work leadership in art and literature as the congratulatory speech at the Fourth Literary Congress and the speech at the Drama Writing Conference. These not only restore order from chaos on the issue of the neglect of Mao Zedong Thought on art and literature, they also are a development of Mao Zedong Thought on art and literature under the new historical conditions. Ever since the Third Plenum, under the guidance of these correct policies and directions art and literature have made accomplishments unprecedented since the founding of the state and have decisively proven that only with unbroken progress in Mao Zedong Thought on art and literature can we continually achieve development of our socialist art and literature. In searching for a proper method of treatment of historical experience in art and literature we certainly must not employ the "two whatevers." The "two whatevers" basically deny the laws of the continual development of carrying forward our cause and forging ahead into the future. To employ the "two whatevers" in art and literature will only stifle the life of socialist art and literature and stagnate any further development. I am sure that you will agree with me on this point.

In closing our discussion I would like to emphasize that restoring order from chaos, carrying forward our cause and forging ahead into the future not only are correct for work in art and literature but also reflect the overall laws for development in all affairs and things. In all affairs and things in the world, especially in the activities of man's social practices, the processes of progress and development always are a process of restoring order from chaos, carrying forward our cause and forging ahead into the future. Rejection of these objective laws results in punishment, and adherence to these objective laws results in progress. Objective laws teach people to restore order from chaos, carry forward our cause and forge ahead into the future, and these processes continually help people to improve

their understanding of the necessity of objective laws. Only by the continual grasping of understanding and the continual practice of restoring order from chaos, carrying forward our cause and forging ahead into the future can we stand before the objective laws of art and literature, discard blind certainty and gradually draw near the free realm of understanding. The future holds difficulties but there are advantageous conditions, the most advantageous is that since the Third Plenum the correct line, direction and policy have been established by the Party Central. As workers in art and literature who are closely linked with their times we have reason to be confident that in the great historical turning point of restoring order from chaos, carrying forward our cause and forging ahead into the future victory will belong to us!

11582
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERARY, ART CRITICISM URGED TO IMPLEMENT 'DOUBLE HUNDRED' POLICY

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Implementation of the Policy of 'Double Hundred' Necessitates the Launching of Literary and Art Criticism"]

[Text] Do we still need to launch literary and art criticism in order to implement the policy of "double hundred," and will the launching of literary and art criticism affect the implementation of this policy? This is a question of general concern in literary and art circles. In order to change the lax and weak state of the literary and art front, we should discuss the question clearly.

Literary and art criticism is an indispensable component part of the entire work in the literary and artistic fields; it goes hand-in-hand with literary and artistic creation. When there is creation, there is criticism. This is one of the laws in the development of literature and art. As a social phenomenon, once literary and artistic works come out, readers express their views and thoughts and critics place these on the high plane of theory which becomes literary criticism. Not only can literary criticism help readers to recognize and understand the works so that good and relatively good works can play the role they deserve, it can also help artists to recognize the successes and shortcomings of their own works.

Clearly, literary and art criticism plays a positive and advancing role in literature and art that cannot be overlooked.

The policy of "double hundred" is the only correct policy to make socialist literature and art flourish and grow. To implement it we must launch literary and artistic criticism in earnest.

To implement the policy of "double hundred," we must let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend; there must be free development as well as free discussion. For discussion and contention, we must allow the expression of different opinions and let readers, viewers, critics, and leading comrades to put forward their criticism of works. We would actually be misinterpreting the "double hundred" policy as a capitalist liberal policy if we think that in its implementation we can do what we want, discard all principles and conventions, and believe that the party cannot make any demands on literature and art, provide any guidance, or even make any criticism. The policy of "double hundred" is a proletarian academic policy and literary and art policy, one that develops Marxism, literature and art in struggle. It is guided by the four basic principles and oriented toward serving the people and

socialism. To adhere to this guidance and orientation, we cannot call off the necessary ideological as well as literary and art struggle, and cannot cancel the demands and guidance the party has on literature and art. The policy of "double hundred" is partly criticism and self-criticism in substance. It is entirely erroneous to view literary and art criticism as in conflict with the policy of "double hundred" and oppose the launching of criticism by reason of implementing the policy.

In the past several years there has been a practice in literary and art circles which is not very good, namely, permitting others to say only positive but not negative things. Criticism is quickly regarded as "coming down with the big stick." What is "coming down with the big stick"? It is none other than the kind of criticism which is purely fictitious, confuses right and wrong, cooks up charges, exaggerates, does things in an oversimplified and crude way, and does not allow argument for one's case. It is the kind of criticism which uses what is wrong to suppress what is right, or which uses extremely erroneous attitudes and methods to treat what basically have good tendencies but with certain shortcomings, confusing two types of contradictions of different nature. This so-called "criticism" basically violates the policy of "double hundred" and stifles the vitality of literature and art. We must never make this mistake again. However, to regard correct and necessary criticism as "coming down with the big stick" is a manifestation of liberalization. Particularly at present, some works which are unfavorable to the adherence to the four basic principles and to the implementation of the line of the Third Plenary Session and the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the party Central Committee, and some works of poor style and low appeal are appearing one after another. Some erroneous views that break away from and resist party leadership are occasionally published. We can never allow these erroneous tendencies to go unchecked but must carry out earnest and serious criticism as well as necessary and appropriate struggle in order to safeguard literary and artistic creation to advance along a healthy path.

At present, workers in literary and art criticism still have all kinds of worry. Some are afraid to talk about "coming down with the big stick," some are afraid to talk about a rigid way of thinking, and some are afraid to ruin relationships and affect unity. These sentiments obstruct the growth of literary and art criticism. Our workers in literary and art criticism should strive to overcome this state of laxness and weakness, stir themselves, and positively pick up the weapon of literary and art criticism. We should not have any worry if our criticism adheres to the implementation of the four basic principles and the policy of "double hundred" and is fully reasonable, practical and realistic. This is because if there are contradictions and we do not resolve them, they will grow and intensify. Through criticism and debate, contradictions can be promptly resolved, which in turn will promote unity and unification as well as the growth of literature and art.

The task of literary and art criticism includes criticizing bad works as well as ascertaining good ones. It includes pointing out existing problems as well as summing up results. Just as Lu Xun said: "The duty of critics is not only to wipe out the weeds but also to water the beautiful flowers." If this principle is understood, critics will not just get bogged down by the word "criticize" and writers will not have to react as soon as they hear the word "criticism." Literary and art criticism is everyday work. It should be gradual and without letup, cannot be loud and reckless, and cannot engage in movements or joint attacks. Creation must pay attention to social effects and criticism must also pay attention to social effects.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in the "Talks at the Yen n Forum on literature and Art": "Literary and art criticism is a complicated problem. It requires a lot of special study." Some criticism is frequently feeble not only because critics lack understanding of the whole phenomenon of literature and art, but also lack analysis of concrete works. This is why they cannot avoid being oversimplified and rigid, subjective and arbitrary. This kind of criticism can certainly affect the implementation of the policy of "double hundred." Our workers in literature and art criticism must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; master the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism; earnestly study the literary and art theory of Marxism as well as the series of general and specific policies of the party toward literature and art; earnestly study society; earnestly understand the state of literature and art and the history of both Chinese and foreign literature and art; combine the party's principles and the laws in art; strive to raise the level of literary and art criticism; and contribute to the healthy growth and prosperity of socialist literature and art.

9586

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ARTICLE COMMENTS ON 'SELF-EXAMINATION'

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Gang Ko [0073 2047]: "A Short Comment on Self-Examination"]

[Text] Whenever a piece of literary work is published, be it a novel, a drama, a random commentary or an essay, it invariably causes somebody to indulge in "self-examination."

There is, of course, nothing wrong with "self-examination." The purpose of writing is to cause people to think, to understand, to comprehend, to learn, to give them inspiration or encouragement, to help or to educate them, to criticize or to chastise them. In short, the purpose of writing is to offer people something and to exert some influence in society. For this reason, I consider "self-examination" as quite proper.

However, there has now appeared "self-examination" of a different type. There are people who invariably think that a certain character depicted in a piece of writing is patterned after themselves and that it is therefore prejudicial and disrespectful. They would then resort to retaliatory measures to give the writers a bad time. It is to be noted that most of these people are in positions of power and are, therefore, very capable of exacting revenge. I have seen it happen. A certain comrade wrote a comment at random in which certain descriptions seemed to fit, in part or in total, a certain unit. Thereupon, the man in charge of the unit, thinking that he was being maligned, became livid with rage, made out a list of what he claimed to be inaccuracies, and condemned the piece of writing as promoting perverted tendencies. I also heard that a play written by a writer in Wanrong County caused the responsible person in an electric power bureau to take drastic retaliatory action and to create an uproar. I am not opposed to criticizing the critic. What I am saying is that this attitude is wrong. If the person described in a piece of writing is somebody other than you, why should you be offended? And if the person described in a piece of writing is in fact an accurate description of yourself, then why can't you make amends? If one cannot accept criticism but seeks to take revenge, one is indeed in the wrong.

As a common saying goes, "An honest piece of advice is grating on the ear, albeit conducive to proper action." A good piece of critical review which carries a sharp attack is like a sharp scalpel which serves to rid the body of poison, to ward off sickness, to lower the temperature and to act as a lightning rod. After "self-examination," one can then proceed to mend one's ways. What is wrong with that?

To quote Li Shimin, Emperor T'aitung, of the Tang Dynasty, "By using a piece of brass as a mirror, one can make sure one is properly dressed. By using history as a mirror, one can find the causes which contribute to the prosperity or the decline of a nation. Using people as a mirror, one can find out what leads to success and what to failure." If even an emperor in a feudalistic society was able to see the truth, should we party cadres not try to do better? If the mirror clearly shows our face to be black but if, instead of promptly washing it, we put the blame on the mirror and smash it, the dirt on our face will continue to accumulate until it will be too late to be removed.

Recently, the Central Committee of the party has again emphasized the need to use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon. That should be of educational value to such comrades mentioned above. It is hoped that these comrades will take heed "to take the seat assigned to them." Otherwise, they will only topple their own "seats."

9621

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FEAR OF CRITICIZING LITERATURE, ART DECRIED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Zhao Tingpeng [6392 1694 7720]: "Why Be Afriad To Wage a Criticism Campaign in Literature and Art?"]

[Text] If literary works may be compared to flowers with an array of dazzling colors, then literary critics may be likened to gardeners whose job it is to tend the flowers. An admirer of flowers may be aware of the subtle fragrance and the beauty of roses, but he cannot tell where the beauty lies. It is the job of the gardener to explain the whys and wherefores of their intrinsic beauty so as to enable flower lovers to appreciate where the beauty lies, and flower growers to enlarge their scope of knowledge. If malodorous weeds are allowed to invade a bed of orchids and thorny plants to thrive among the peonies, they would stunt the growth of the flowers and wreak havoc in the garden. It is the job of the gardener to pull out the weeds so that visitors to the garden may be spared the stench that assails their nostrils and the thorns that prick their hands. Unfortunately, the number of such protectors of flowers is diminishing. The lovely and seductive apricot flowers are there for all to see, but nobody has the courage to sing their praises. Although the weeds have made their appearance among the flowers, nobody has the courage to pull them out. People are afraid to praise and to condemn because the word "fear" is written large in their hearts.

While there is cause for fear, there is really no justification for it.

There is cause for fear because literary criticism suffered two major reverses in recent years. The first occurred during the period of domestic unrest when outstanding literary works were condemned wholesale. The so-called literary criticism at the time was in fact a weapon in the hands of evil-doers. When the ghost controlling the tiger said that "San-Li Wan" slandered the poor peasants, Zhao Shuli was promptly devoured by the tiger. When the ghost controlling the tiger ruled that "Dragon Beard Ditch" was antiparty, the fate of Lao She was sealed. These miserable creatures gave literary criticism such a bad name that they came to be known among the masses as "assassins." Although the times have changed, their dire influence remains. The ghost controlling the tiger has gone into hiding, but the gardener remains under its evil spell. Whoever ventures to suggest in all seriousness certain defects and errors in a piece of work is promptly besieged from all sides amidst the shout of "Look, the assassin is back again!" To avoid being labeled "assassins," people prefer to play the role of bystanders, blind to all evil tendencies.

After the period of domestic turmoil, literary criticism took a reverse turn and lavished praise indiscriminately on all literary works. Although it was plain to see that the passion flower had broken twigs and sickly buds, it was represented as a flower of great value. Take "The Mighty River's Torrent" as an example, the totally uncalled for laudatory reviews which appeared prior to and after its screening was like an avalanche with which even the Monkey King could not keep pace. Although the movie was clearly a caltrop, it was made out to be a rose. Listen to the praises heaped on "Unrequited Love"! Although there were withered leaves in the passion flower and thorns in the caltrop, they were glossed over by the literary hacks. During that period, it was the fashion to praise and not to condemn. Even when somebody made so bold as "to call a whore a whore," he would leave it at that and go no further. That being the case, such critics came to be known among the masses as "sedan chair bearers." To avoid being labeled "sedan chair bearers," the critics refrained from praising radiant flowers and luxurious shrubs altogether.

We said fear is not justified because literary criticism is a review of the merits or demerits of a piece of literary work. What is there to fear about saying what is good and what is bad? If the criticism is justified, all we have to do is to improve our work, and if the criticism is not justified, we can always make our own defense. What is truly to be feared is to have no regard for the party's literary endeavors, to quibble over minor points where one's personal interest is involved, and to fail to water the flowers and pull out the weeds in the literary garden. Does it make any sense not to fear what should be feared and to fear what should not be feared?

What really counts is the critic's motive and attitude. So long as a critic rids himself of personal biases and lets himself be guided by a sense of fairness, there is no possibility that he will ride roughshod over young seedlings or let loose poisoned arrows against writers in an indiscriminate manner. Even if he should occasionally make a mistake and depict a fairy as a demon, no grudge will be held against him. Although Tolstoy condemned the entire body of work by Shakespeare, nobody has called him an "assassin." Although Li Qingzhao was ridiculed by Hu Zi as an ant trying to shake a giant tree because he criticized over 10 respected free form poets ranging from Liu Yung [2692 3057] to Su Shi, there was little public outcry. The reason is that such critics are truly literary critics who do not have the evil intention of feeding Shakespeare and Su Dongpo to the tiger. For this reason, although Tolstoy and Li Qingzhou were biased in their views, their status as critics remains untarnished. From this point of view, a critic has nothing to fear even if he does make an occasional mistake so long as his conscience is clear.

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